

The Framing of Terrorism:
How American and International Television News Script a Global Drama
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ABSTRACT

Scholars have identified the mass media plays a crucial role in the dissemination of terror messages. Since the attacks of September 11th, 2001, much attention has been paid to terrorism in the global television landscape. More recently, the discourse surrounding acts of terror has changed, in part due to the people behind the attacks. This study seeks to understand how global television news broadcasts frame acts of terror based on two current threats: the individual terrorist (the Lone Wolf) and the organized group (the Islamic State). Using the theoretical framework of Entman's framing theory and Altheide's (1987) notion of a global drama, this research identifies the ways global news organizations frame acts of terror both visually and verbally based on the classification of the attacker. Using content analysis methodology, this study analyzed six terror attacks that took place between November, 2015 and December, 2016. Three of these attacks were classified as "Lone Wolves" and three were carried out by the terrorist organization called the Islamic State. This study looked at 562 stories on six global news channels and examined 9,479 images. Through a comparative analysis, three American and three International news channels were examined. It was discovered global news networks contain visual differences in framing, but similarities in verbal framing. Although it was expected to find vast differences in global news' framing of acts of terror, this study finds a homogenization of the television news narrative following terrorist attacks. This study builds on existing research and suggests a global script for covering acts of terror that has several implications from a theoretical and practical standpoint. Findings indicate global coverage of Islamic State attacks employ

and “Us vs. Them” frame, while Lone Wolf attacks are framed as “Us vs. Us”, a new frame presented in this study. The results advance the literature focused on framing theory, comparative journalism research and global television news coverage of terrorism. As terrorism has garnered extensive media attention, understanding the ways that global news frames terrorism has vast implications.

DEDICATION

For Ross. Thank you for your unwavering support of my dreams and your dedication to make them a reality.

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Walt Disney once said, “If you can dream it, you can do it”. I’ve lived by these words for as long as I can remember and they have shaped who I am today. I would like to acknowledge those who have supported my dreams and reinforced that with hard work, anything can happen.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Terrorism and the media are entwined in an almost inexorable, symbiotic relationship. Terrorism is capable of writing any drama - no matter how horrible - to compel the media's attention.”

- Miller (1982)

Television plays a powerful role in the coverage of terrorism. No media has yet proved as powerful a weapon as television in the hands of those who seek to frame an issue and control an agenda. Altheide (1987) observes “given the widespread recognition that the mass media, and especially TV, prefer action-packed events ripe for good visual reports, the media formats are explicitly played to by more and more groups who lack access and legitimacy to get their messages across through other channels”. Appealing to the terrorist’s motives, television continues to be the dominant source of news for most Americans, with 57% of United States adults preferring to get news from local TV (46%), cable (31%), network (30%) or some combination of the three (Pew Research Center, 2016). Television feeds terrorism coverage through live reports from picture-driven events using both audio and visual platforms (Hoffman & Slater, 2007) that create a spectacle for the audience.

Since the attacks of September 11th, 2001, terrorism has become a salient threat in America and abroad. For the past several decades, this threat has come primarily from organized terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab and the Taliban. But since 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, known as ISIL, ISIS, or the Arabic name Daesh, has become arguably the most dangerous and feared terrorist group in the world. Although there are several terms used to describe this organization, they will be

referred to as the “Islamic State” in this study as that is the term used most frequently used in the news coverage examined. “ In 2014, ISIS made alarming strides toward becoming the ‘Islamic State of Iraq and Syria’ it claimed to be, having seized large regions of both countries, including population centers such as Mosul, the second largest city in Iraq” (Bergen, 2016, p. 7). This organized terrorist group is the first threat directed toward governments and civilians. The Islamic State specifically has committed several acts of terror since 2014 and created a strong presence online for recruitment primarily through their sophisticated use of social media and the release of numerous videos depicting the torture and killing of captives. Because of this, the Islamic State has garnered extensive media attention domestically and internationally - this media attention can promote terrorism making it more salient. As Altheide (1987) notes, “the coverage of terrorism can transform a specific incident into a global drama”.

Although the Islamic State has become a major concern in the minds of many, the second prominent threat is that of the “Lone Wolf” terrorist. Spaaij (2010) defines Lone Wolf terrorism based on three keys components. Lone Wolf terrorists “(a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, and (c) whose modi operandi are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy” (Spaaij, 2010, p. 857). “As a political matter, the age of Lone Wolf terrorism can be traced back to August 15, 2011, when President Barack Obama announced that a Lone Wolf terrorist strike in the United States is more likely than a major coordinated effort like the 9/11 attacks” (Hamm & Spaaij, 2017, p. 1). Since July 2015, there have been 76 people killed and dozens more injured in the United States by

Lone Wolf terrorists. These include: victims from the attacks in Chattanooga, Tennessee in July, 2016 where Mohammed Abdulazeez opened fire on a military recruiting facility; and eight people who were killed when Sayfullo Habibullaevic Saipov, a 29-year-old, drove a truck down a bicycle path in New York City in October, 2017. In these examples, officials say the individuals were inspired by overseas terrorist groups. This problem is only growing and “Since 9/11, more than three hundred Americans – born and raised in Minnesota, Alabama, New Jersey, and elsewhere – have been indicted or convicted of terrorism charges” (Bergen, 2016, p. 1).

This study analyzes how American and International television news coverage framed terrorist attacks between 2015 – 2016 carried out by two distinct threats: the organized terror group (the Islamic State) and the Lone Wolf terrorist. The global television news channels analyzed provide insight to whether the same events are framed in alternative ways by different news outlets. The news channels include three American and three International news channels including:

American News

The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) is an American commercial network. The *CBS Evening News with Scott Pelley* (the anchor during the time period examined) and the *CBS Evening News* (broadcast on weekends) was selected for analysis as it is the flagship broadcast for CBS and was the nation’s first nightly 30-minute news program. It is the home of such iconic broadcast news journalists as Edward R. Murrow and Walter Cronkite.

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is an independent and non-profit organization that distributes content to affiliates across the United States and has been named the top source of trusted news for Americans since 2003 (Public Broadcasting System, 2014). PBS's flagship news program, *The Newshour*, was selected for this study. The main anchor, Judy Woodruff, is the only woman regularly on such a broadcast and also holds a title of managing editor.

The Cable News Network (CNN) is the first American 24-hour cable news network. "According to Pew Research Center analysis of Nielsen Media Research data, viewership increased for cable news channels in 2016. In prime time, combined average viewership for the three major news channels (CNN, Fox News and MSNBC) increased by 55% to 4.8 million viewers (Pew Research Center, 2016). Although CNN broadcasts 24-hours a day, *Anderson Cooper 360* (commonly called AC-360) was selected for analysis. *Anderson Cooper 360* is hosted by journalist Anderson Cooper and is broadcast on CNN for American audiences and CNN International for global audiences.

International News

RT Television Network, formerly known as Russia Today, is an international television network based in Moscow and is described as a network that gives a "Russian viewpoint on major global events" (RT International, 2017). The 7:00 - 7:30 p.m. broadcast was included in this analysis to provide similarity with the other evening shows.

Sky News is a 24-hour news organization based in the United Kingdom. It is owned and operated by British Sky Broadcasting (also known as BSkyB), and has been

broadcasting since 1989. Although several news segments are broadcast throughout the day, the 60-minute broadcast airing at 7 p.m. was used for analysis. This broadcast was selected as it is the network's flagship evening broadcast, similar to the other networks included in this study.

The Al Jazeera Media Network, which translates to "The Island", is a state-owned news organization based in Doha, Qatar (Toumi, 2011; Powers, 2009). Al Jazeera gained global prominence during the war in Afghanistan as it was the only network to cover the war as it was developing (Whitaker, 2003). The 7 p.m., 60-minute English-language news bulletin was selected for analysis as it most closely resembles the other broadcasts selected for inclusion.

Terrorism and the Media. This study aims to advance the body of literature focused on visual and verbal framing of terrorist acts on television news. Further, this study aims to examine what differences, if any, are present in the framing of specific terrorist acts by organizations depending on whether the perpetrator is categorized as part of the Islamic State, or a Lone Wolf. To understand the framing of terrorist events, one must note the role of the media.

The mass media plays a crucial role in the dissemination of terrorist messages. The relationship between terrorism and the media has been coined the "theater of terror" that represents the "dramatic, almost theatrical usage by terrorist organizations of the media for portrayal of terror attacks with the purpose of exposure on the global stage of mass media" (Shoshani & Sloane, 2008).

Although terrorist organizations and acts of terror have occurred for centuries (Matusitz, 2012), there has been a significant increase in the attention paid to these events (Altheide, 1987). The attacks of September 11th drastically altered the way American media covered terrorism, and contributed to heightened salience in media worldwide. For example, the coverage of 9/11 was constructed within the frame the “War on Terror”, a term first asserted by the administration of President George W. Bush. This framing confirms the power government administrations have in shaping the coverage of events (Reese & Lewis, 2009). Further, Nacos (2007) coined the term “mass mediated terrorism” and explains:

“The idea here is that most terrorists calculate the consequences of their deeds, the likelihood of gaining media attention, and most important, the likelihood of winning entrance - through the media - to what I call *The Triangle of Political Communication*. In mass societies in which direct contact and communication between the governors and the governed are no longer possible, the media provide the lines of communication between public offices and the general public” (p. 15).

This highlights the relationship between government, terrorism and media in the construction of content.

Traditionally, mass media coverage of terrorist-related events reflected a pattern where fear of international terrorism was dominant, particularly where Muslims were working together in organized cells (Powell, 2011). Domestic terrorism on the other hand was framed as isolated incidents perpetrated by troubled individuals such as the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh and Theodore Kaczynski, the unabomber.

Definition of Terrorism. One of the challenges in terrorism research is the varied definitions associated with the term. The United States Government defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets

by subnational groups or clandestine agents” (from Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f(d)). The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) defines terrorism as “the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals or property in an attempt to coerce or intimidate governments or societies to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives”. The European Union “does not provide a definition of terrorism, but does criminalize public provocation to commit a terrorist offence and recruitment and training for terrorism”.

Although the United States’ definition of terrorism addresses the idea of “groups”, U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano voices the concerns of many with the increase in the number of individuals acting on their own. Napolitano stated in 2014 “the risk of “Lone Wolf” attackers was on the rise. ‘There's been a lot of evolution over the past three years. The thing that's most noticeable to me is the growth of the Lone Wolf, the single attacker who is not part of a larger global network” (Spaaij & Hamm, 2015).

The distinction between the organized group and the Lone Wolf is of great importance and an area of potential research due to the terrorist attacks that have taken place in 2014-2015. For example, the attacks in Paris in November, 2015 were executed by a number of men connected to the Islamic State, while the attack in Orlando, Florida in June 2016 at a nightclub was carried out by a Lone Wolf and deemed an act of “domestic terror”.

Understanding the ways global news frames acts of terror is important for several reasons. First, by comparing news coverage on global television, a greater understanding

of framing similarities and differences can be gained. Research indicates “In International affairs, framing serves several functions by highlighting certain events as international problems that affect American interests (agenda-setting), identifying and explaining the source of any security threats (cognitive priming), and offering recommendations for particular policy solutions to overcome these problems (evaluation)” (Norris et. al, 2003, p. 11). This research will further the body of literature on framing theory from a global perspective.

Secondly, “There is broad consensus about how terrorist events should be interpreted *within* any particular community (although not necessarily outside of that community), including among most mainstream leaders, including government officials and political interest groups, journalists, and the public” (Norris et. al, 2001, p. 12). By examining media channels from various communities, much can be gained to how cultural or ideological differences influence the construction of news.

Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter focuses on providing the background and rationale for this study. Over the past several decades, terrorism has become more prominent in our society resulting in more coverage by the mass media. Mass media, terrorism and the government have a symbiotic relationship that influences the way acts of terror are covered. Historically terrorism has been associated with the organized group, but more recently, the individual, known as the Lone Wolf terrorist, has become a threat. Through an examination of global news, an understanding of the way different types of acts of terror are framed will be gained.

This dissertation will examine global media framing of terrorism. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature focused on: global television news, a comparative approach to journalism research, the threats of terrorism from the Islamic State and the Lone Wolf, and lastly, framing theory. Chapter three describes the methodological process utilized for this dissertation research. Chapter four presents the findings of this study as they relate to visual and verbal framing. Lastly, chapter five provides a discussion of the findings, study limitations and areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW & CONTEXT OF INQUIRY

“Given the widespread recognition that the mass media, and especially TV, prefer action-packed events ripe for good visual reports, the media formats are explicitly played to by more and more groups who lack access and legitimacy to get their messages across through other channels.”

-Altheide (1987)

Through an examination of scholarly research focused on television news coverage of terrorism, it is clear there is a gap in the literature. Although there is extensive research analyzing the framing of acts of terror, there are no studies comparing how attacks are framed based on the classification of the attacker nor if there are differences in how attacks are framed across global news channels. For this study, there are four key areas of literature to analyze. First, a broad examination of the development of global television news; second, as this study also utilizes a comparative approach to journalism to examine the similarities and differences between American and International news, a review of literature focusing on comparative journalism methods is included. Third, an in-depth look at how terrorism is defined, its history, and the two current threats: the Islamic State and the Lone Wolf. The final research area focuses on framing theory, with emphasis on the literature published on the framing of acts of terror. Other theories that may prove relevant to this research will be briefly reviewed. The four areas are examined to gain an understanding of the relevant research on television news, terrorism, framing theory and comparative journalism approaches.

Television News

Understanding the progression of TV news through history is essential, as this evolution has contributed to the construction of how acts of terror are covered

today. This section of the literature review examines American news from four key aspects: network development and ownership, programming, technology, and shifts in content.

American News

To begin examining American television news, it is important to note that network television news began with foundations in radio (Ponce de Leon, 2015); starting with three major players in the television industry: CBS, NBC and Dumont. During World War II, the appetite for news grew with almost 20% of all programming devoted to information. On the radio, CBS specifically used tactics to engage and inform viewers during the war with methods such as on-the-spot reporting (Ponce de Leon, 2015). At the time, radio journalists were extremely well respected and held in high esteem by the American public. For example, Edward R. Murrow, gained notoriety and trust from Americans as CBS's radio news reporter during WWII (Edwards, 2004). Murrow's catch phrase "Good night, and good luck" was not only popular with the American public, but was associated with the newscaster and CBS (Oldham, 2005). Although television news had its foundations in radio, there is one clear distinction between the two: visuals.

News in the 1940s. Though there were earlier attempts of television news, this review will begin in 1939. At this time, NBC, CBS and Dumont set up experimental stations in New York City that broadcasted news to a select number of households in the area (Ponce de Leon, 2015). In 1942, these experimental stations closed, due to public and private resources being diverted to the war effort. This diversion delayed the advent of broadcast network news for a couple of years (Ponce de Leon, 2015). During this time,

NBC and its parent company RCA were facing logistical issues. NBC was accused of monopolizing the industry, and to avoid further problems, sold off one part of the company known as NBC Blue (Bliss, 1991). A company called Noble broadcasting purchased NBC Blue, that later turned into the contemporary American Broadcast Company (ABC) (Fang, 1997). This made it so there were four key players in the network news landscape: NBC, CBS, ABC and Dumont. During the late 1940s, the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) put a freeze on the issuing of new commercial broadcast licenses. This time period was actually beneficial to both CBS and NBC as they were able to convince stations across the country to become affiliates, but negatively affected ABC and Dumont as their network was much smaller. This would impact both networks for years to come.

Much like other forms of technology, television also faced some problems in its early years. Television was expensive to both broadcasters and consumers - in order for broadcasters to provide content into homes, cities had to be linked up to an AT&T coaxial cable. This linking was not only expensive; it was also time consuming. By the end of the 1940s, the East coast was linked, and by 1951 the West coast was linked, allowing for transnational broadcasting (Sterling & Kitross, 2001). Even though both coasts were linked, there was still a vast area, specifically the middle of the United States, that had no access. In the 1950s it is estimated the only 30 percent of America was linked to the coaxial cable (Ponce de Leon, 2015). Early on, television was also expensive to consumers. Purchasing television sets was out of the reach for most of the middle class, which meant early adopters were from affluent families. For instance, the

first “Westinghouse color TV set went on sale in New York City at a price of \$1,295 dollars. In today’s dollars that would probably work out to be in the range of more than 10,000 dollars” (Mussen, 2012, para 3). Businesses, such as taverns, were also able to purchase television sets to draw in customers and allowed some to access broadcasts through out-of-home viewing (Ponce de Leon, 2015).

Even with the extensive costs, television in America grew quickly. In 1946, it is estimated there were approximately 20,000 television sets in the country with 6 news stations in 4 cities: New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia and Schenectady, NY (Ponce de Leon, 2015). By 1952, there were more than 15 million television sets nationwide with 108 stations in 65 cities.

The first regular network newscasts began in the mid-1940s. In 1944, CBS introduced its newscast, which was 15 minutes long and was broadcasted on Thursday and Friday evenings. In 1945, NBC premiered its 15-minute newscast on Thursday and Friday evenings, following the scheduling developed by CBS (Sterling & Kitross, 2001). Both NBC and CBS content mimicked the newsreels that were used by movie theaters with pre-recorded content accompanied by narration (Ponce de Leon, 2015). Both ABC and Dumont attempted to create their own versions of newscasts, which were both viewed as failures due to low ratings.

A few years later, in February 1948, NBC premiered its first regular 15-minute newscast airing five days per week (Fang, 1997). This turned into the well-known program called Camel News Caravan hosted by John Cameron Swayze. J.R. Reynolds, the parent company of Camel cigarettes, sponsored Camel News Caravan. Sponsorship

during these times was extremely important and one corporation would typically sponsor the entire broadcast, which was then incorporated into content. For example, Swayze was often seen smoking Camel cigarettes on air and encouraging viewers to smoke only Camel (Ponce de Leon, 2015). At the beginning of the newscasts, a slate would run saying “Camel News Caravan: produced *for* Camel cigarettes *by* NBC”.

This demonstrates the impact and influence sponsorship had in the early days of network television news. The Camel News Caravan stayed on the air and led in ratings for several years, and later became the well-known program the Huntley-Brinkley report. CBS also broadcasted their first regular weeknight newscast in April 1948. One important thing to note about these early newscasts was the content and formatting. This was when networks first began to create their own content, in part relying on their Owned and Operated stations (O & O’s) around the country. ABC and Dumont attempted their own version of newscasts, with little success. ABC struggled through the first several decades of network news and Dumont went out of operation in 1956 (Ponce de Leon, 2015). Although Dumont was one contender in the early years of television news, some historians now refer to it as the “Forgotten Network” (Weinstein, 2006).

Network Coverage of Political Conventions. In the 1940s, political conventions had a strong influence on network news. Frank (1991) argues broadcast news truly began with the 1948 convention. Held in Philadelphia, the 1948 convention was one of the first major events network news covered, but there were still many issues for this young medium. First, there was only one camera angle, and all networks had basically the same footage to choose from for broadcasting, creating content similarity. Second, the only

footage networks could get focused on what was going on at the podium, and missed any of the action taking place behind the scenes. These led audiences to rely heavily on newspapers to provide detailed information and commentary, such as the democratic protest of candidate Strom Thurmond (Frank, 1991).

By the 1952 political conventions, network news was much better prepared, and for the first time, had the ability to reach a national audience. Advances in technology changed the formatting allowing networks to have cameras in multiple locations, such as the hotels where convention attendees were staying (Frank, 1991). The 1952 conventions also introduced a young Walter Cronkite to national audiences. Prior to the start of convention coverage, a newspaper published a description of Cronkite, labeling him the “anchorman” of CBS coverage, a term that is still widely used today. Cronkite shined throughout this coverage, specifically due to his ability provide analysis and commentary to audiences. The 1952 conventions established network news in the minds of many Americans, and reports note that more than 60 million individuals watched some part of the coverage (Frank, 1991).

Television News in the 1950s. In the 1950s, distinct changes in network news coverage, formatting, and audiences emerged. In 1951, CBS premiered *See it Now*, a documentary-style news program that was produced by Fred Friendly (Edwards, 2004). *See it Now* and Friendly are credited with drastically changing the way broadcast news was produced. The show used elements that had never been seen before, such as field producers, journalists, edited stories, unscripted interviews, and a strong focus on visuals to tell the story instead of words. Although *See it Now* had a relatively small audience, it

brought prestige to CBS, but it did have some problems. The major issue with *See it Now* was that producers often created stories about controversial topics (such as the McCarthy hearings) and included a personal viewpoint, which worried executives because it could be argued *See it Now* was inherently biased (Ponce de Leon, 2015). Regardless, *See it Now* changed the landscape of American television. For example, in 1953, Edward R. Murrow began investigating the case of Milo Radulovich, an American member of the Air Force who was discharged based on accusations that members of his family were communist sympathizers (PBS, 2007). *See it Now* aired the story, and following the broadcast, Radulovich was reinstated into the Air Force. As PBS (2007) states “this one edition of *See it Now* marked a changed in the face of American journalism and a new age in American politics (para. 4).

Overall, evening news struggled on all three networks throughout the 1950s. For the most part, news programming was relegated to Sunday afternoons, also known as the “intellectual ghetto” (Frank, 2001). But not all programs suffered - morning news, which contained a mixture of both informative and entertainment content, soared in ratings in the 50s. The *Today* show was the highest rated during this time period, due in part to the use of a chimp name J. Fred Muggs (Ponce de Leon, 2015).

By the end of the 1950s, there were some distinct changes in the formatting of network news. News no longer resembled the film reels seen in theaters, but instead utilized content aiming to elevate viewer understanding (Frank, 2001). The 1950s also provided the first indication that entertainment in news, such as the morning shows, could lead to higher ratings and success overall.

News in the 1960s and 1970s. With the increase in entertainment-type programming in the 50s, there was government concern about the state of television content in America by the 1960s. A call to action initiated by the networks asserted “we can do better” – referring to examples like the “quiz show scandals” in the 1950s. In this example, information became available that there were several game shows where the outcome was arranged by the producers and willing contestants to gain higher ratings (Anderson, 1978). The Federal Communication Commission (FCC) had growing concerns at the time, and the fear of FCC involvement led affiliates across the nation to include more public affairs and information-based programming into TV lineups.

In 1963, the format of evening newscasts drastically changed, with CBS premiering a 30-minute broadcast each evening hosted by Walter Cronkite (Ponce de Leon, 2015). This in part was due to reports indicating that a majority of Americans now got all of their news from television. NBC, who consistently led in the ratings, expanded the Huntley-Brinkley report to 30 minutes, and ABC, although still struggling, followed suit. By 1967, the CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite surpassed the Huntley-Brinkley report in ratings. In 1963, network news also experienced a milestone when President Kennedy was shot (Fang, 1997). This was the first time networks interrupted scheduled programming with breaking news.

The late 1960s experienced some great changes in network news content that were shaped by the administration of the time. President Nixon hated network news and often accused journalists of bias. The networks, to some extent, conformed to the complaints of Nixon and stopped including elements, such as anti-war information, in

their reports. When the Watergate scandal broke in the early 70s, journalists took it as an opportunity to reassert themselves. Angered by the attempt of the Nixon administration to muzzle the media, network news came back with even more aggressive and hard-hitting tactics than before. Journalists began to embody the role of a “watchdog”, and wanted to make it clear mass media news coverage was not to be influenced by the government, military or corporate sponsors (Ponce de Leon, 2015). In just 20 years, this was a major change from the days of John Cameron Swayze smoking Camel cigarettes on air.

During this time, images also had an immense impact on news content and viewers. For many years, news content was shaped by information passed down from the administration, and this began to change. For example, during the Vietnam War, a report by Morley Safer depicted U.S. troops burning down a town that was claimed to be a “Vietcong” stronghold. The visuals did not show any proof of this, and led to changes in viewer perceptions of the war. In addition, Walter Cronkite traveled to Vietnam and filed a report clearly labeled as commentary providing his opinion of what was taking place (Frank, 2001). At the time, although these practices gave network news more prestige, not all audiences liked this new style. Often, viewers felt there was too much inclusion of “bad news” and that journalists were disrespectful of authority, creating tension and taking sides.

In 1968, the creation of the CBS show *60 Minutes* also changed the landscape of network television news and its ability to go in depth on one pertinent subject. Created by Don Hewitt, *60 Minutes* is a news magazine show that mixes hard news with soft

pieces, such as profiles of celebrities or human-interest stories (Ponce de Leon, 2015). The format of the show contained three separate narratives: two hard stories and one soft, with the reporters serving as the protagonists and stars of the show. The program *60 Minutes* was also known for aggressive investigative reporting techniques, such as hidden cameras and reporters ambushing individuals for interviews. Although *60 Minutes* was not an instant success, it became the highest rated show on television after a few years. This further solidified the impact entertainment style programming can have on audiences and broadcasts.

During this time, the amount of news content greatly increased. Network executives protected news divisions and were extremely indulgent. The budgets for news divisions soared, with most networks having more than 100 million dollars annually that came from profits of network entertainment programming. The staffs at network news also increased, with most networks having hundreds of employees.

News in the 1980s to present. By the 1980s and 1990s, there were extreme changes in audiences and content of network news.

Although there were larger television audiences, there were many more options for viewers. The 1980s saw the development of cable news, such as CNN, public news, such as PBS and global news, such as Sky News. These gave audiences the opportunity to get their information elsewhere, which greatly affected networks. Audiences also embodied the idea of “market populism”, and fought back against the notion journalists should be the ones to decide what the population should be informed about (Ponce de Leon, 2015). The idea of network news setting the agenda and parameters of public

debate did not sit well with audiences, and because there were so many alternative options, audiences were no longer reliant on network news.

In 1986, the news coverage of the space shuttle Challenger disaster impacted the global perspective of American news. The space shuttle, that broke apart about one minute after it launched, was viewed live by millions of people around the world (Vaidyanathan, 2011). “CNN’s early efforts to establish professional credibility became known as the “baptism of CNN” and occurred when it became the only television outlet that covered “live” the tragic lift-off explosion of the Challenger space shuttle” (Silcock, 2008, p. 158). Escobedo (2016) states former CNN employee Steve Stahl explained “that moment represented CNN's "coming of age," and “after this coverage, I rarely had to explain to people what CNN was to people who hadn't seen the network.” The Challenger disaster promoted 24-hour American news channels into a global arena.

During this time, the amount of entertainment, sensationalism and tabloid style journalism in news greatly increased. News content evolved to include soft news on consumer, health and lifestyle rather than hard news reminiscent of early network coverage. As an example, the coverage of the OJ Simpson case in the 1990s has been called “CNN’s biggest blockbuster” which emphasizes the entertainment-oriented and sensational way this event was covered (Ponce de Leon, 2015). In addition, the Chandra Levy case in the early 2000s was one event that led to the end of the idea of professional news judgment. It appeared journalists no longer covered stories that were truly important, but rather focused on what would lead to the highest ratings.

It is important to understand that “info-tainment” is not something that is new to television. TV had always been a medium used to entertain and early on, it was clear with content such as *See it Now*, *Today*, and *60 minutes*, the combination of hard and soft news is what captivates audiences. Entertainment programming did not start in the 80s and 90s, but instead has existed for decades.

The September 11th terrorist attacks influenced global media. When examining the effects on American media, the Pew Research Center (2006) states “the attacks of September 11th, 2001 in Washington and New York and the wars that resulted have led to increased coverage of foreign policy and global conflict on the network evening news, but less coverage of domestic issues” (para. 2). The content of American news following the September 11th attacks was virtually unchanged in the four years following the attacks. For example, “the newscast minutes devoted to hard news increased by a mere 2 % in the years after the attacks while the airtime given to softer coverage decreased by only 5 %” (Pew Research Center, 2006). Lastly, Pew Research Center (2006) found “the events of 911 have reinforced the old Cold War truism that the first responsibility of the nightly newscast is to determine whether our world is safe that day”.

In the digital age, consumers have more options than ever before. Although network news still exists, the audiences have gone elsewhere. First, 24-hour news made it so that network news was no longer necessary. Instead, viewers have turned to platforms, such as social media and mobile phone news feeds to gain information. In the days of Cronkite, TV news audiences were so large mostly because there were limited choices. Today, the Internet provides almost endless instantaneous options for

consumers. Network news has tried to counter this, by creating an online presence and providing content, but still has not regained the audience it once had.

Over the past several decades, network news has been noted as having impacts on society in several ways. Early research suggests that the media has created a “mass society” with effects such as depersonalization and similarities in aesthetic tastes. Berger (2012) argues television is a platform that broadcasts highly formulaic junk with a national perspective. Rather than focusing on individual concerns or tastes, network news has included content that a majority of people should concern themselves with. Because of this, for many years, Americans were told what was important to focus on through the media setting the agenda. But, the advent of the Internet, and endless choices it provides, has made the mass society idea no longer applicable (Berger, 2012).

International News. Traditionally, television news had a national focus, specifically in locations where broadcasting is controlled by or affiliated with government organizations (Foote, 1995). Often times, news was the first global service allowed into countries because historically it was deemed the “safest” and least offensive (Foote, 1995).

As the popularity of television grew, so did the appetite for global news. Early on, affluent populations in developing countries were willing to pay large sums of money for satellites that would bring in a wide range of both entertainment, as well as information-based content into their homes. Because of this, global news began with the most elite audiences in news history.

Impacts of International News. International news coverage had an immense impact on the broadcast news landscape. In the early stages, the legacies of international radio

coverage at the BBC World Service and Voice of America helped to garner even more attention. The interest in global news early on was so pervasive, specifically among government officials, the Cable News Network (CNN) began to serve as the channel for diplomatic communication (Browne, 1983). In Egypt, where viewers first were exposed to international news (specifically CNN) during the Gulf War, the state-owned Egyptian television stations began to immediately change formatting and reporting techniques to better match CNN (Foote, 1995).

Another important impact global news brought was the idea of a continuous news cycle. Following the prominence of CNN's Gulf war coverage, countries like Germany began to focus on the development of 24-hour news channels (Browne, 1983). This impact is often now referred to as the "CNN effect" and argues the development of 24-hour cable networks have impacted governmental foreign policy (Robinson, 2002).

In the early 1980s, terrorism coverage by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) became an important milestone in International news. Bobby Sands, a member of the terrorist organization the Irish Republican Army (IRA), died while in jail following a 66-day hunger strike protesting prisoner rights (BBC News, 2017). The hunger strike, and in turn the IRA, garnered extensive media attention and the BBC was criticized for its coverage. As Savage (2016) explains "Denounced by right-wing press and politicians as 'IRA's best friend', BBC had to walk a fine line between reporting events and being seen as a vehicle for IRA propaganda". This event emphasizes the role news coverage, and especially pictures play in coverage of terrorist organizations. As Savage (2016) notes "Coverage of these seminal events caused tremendous consternation for the

Thatcher government and its allies, who were convinced these images glorified the IRA”. The BBC’s coverage of the IRA cemented the role media has in the coverage of terrorism influenced global news. As Barnett and Reynolds (2009) state “Margaret Thatcher, when dealing with threats from the Irish Republican Army, said that publicity is the oxygen of terrorism” (p. 2).

Although global news networks and international coverage have led to numerous positive advancements in the field of journalism, it has also led to some drawbacks. First, global networks are frequently attacked for their potential of cultural invasion and for bias towards their own country (Foote, 1995). For example, CNN international has been consistently perceived as being too “American” even though its international news output is almost totally independent from its domestic counterpart. In addition, with the increase in quantity of news, this leads to fewer news gatherers. Scholars argue having less people reporting on world news can run the risk of providing less diverse viewpoints and creating distortion (Foote, 1995).

The influence of global news has been immense. As Bahador (2011) notes, “a salient theme of this period was a belief in the mass media’s power and effects. On the one hand, the media were identified as a key facilitator in the transfer of political ideas to eastern Europeans” (p. 37). Additionally, Palmer and Gallab (2001) explain “Western values are propagated by TV programs via satellite into the Islamic nations of the Middle East, Asia, and North Africa.

The development of domestic and international news has impacted the form and content of television news today. To better understand global television news, a comparative approach to journalism research is important.

Comparative Journalism Research

To better understand what factors influence journalism, researchers often use the comparative journalism approach. The goal of comparative journalism research is to chart and explain similarities and differences in different aspects of journalism in different countries (Ornebring, 2012). Utilizing this method is important to the field of mass communication as it can help identify the specificities and practices of journalism in different countries. Often, the best way to see uniqueness in journalism is through comparison.

Foundations of Research. There are numerous approaches to comparative journalism research. This study focused on two areas of distinction: journalism as a practice and media systems. Journalism as a practice can be viewed as the “function of journalism in an organizational or institutional setting (Ornebring, 2012). From this approach, a journalistic organization or journalists themselves are targeted. Additionally, a systems perspective can be used. The systems approach has the longest history in comparative research, and views journalism from a macro level based on the political and cultural framework in which it exists. This viewpoint is important as the political, cultural and social privilege journalism holds in society often affects the way news is constructed. First, journalism will be examined from a practice perspective.

Journalism Practice. When analyzing the practices of journalism, there are some similarities that have emerged globally. Research indicates that journalists across the world have agreement in practices in four key areas (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011). First, journalists have adopted the normative ideals of detachment, providing political information, and serving in the “watchdog” function, although the idea of a watchdog is stronger in Western countries. Second, journalists agree that they should not try to influence the public or encourage societal change. Third, ideas such as neutrality, impartiality, factualness and the use of reliable sources are valued around the world. Lastly, adopting ethical standards and avoiding questionable reporting techniques, even if that means missing out on a story, are utilized.

There are also global similarities in how newscasts and newsrooms are structured and operate. First, there is agreement on what stories will be included for broadcast, the story order, and the importance in correct translation for international audiences (Browne, 1983). This indicates that adopted practices place the most important stories at the beginning of the newscast and pay extreme caution when translating from one language to another. The structure of newsroom operations also have global similarities. Most newsrooms have an editor-in-chief, staff that researches and re-writes content, reporters and support staff (Browne, 1983).

Though there are similarities in global practices, there are some differences. One difference is the separation of fact and opinion included in broadcasts. Research indicates that countries such as America, Russia and Turkey include analysis and

commentary in the news, while others such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland do not (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011).

Journalistic practices as a social factor are important in how news is constructed. The adoption and adherence to ideas such as neutrality, objectivity and detachment influence how a story is told. The idea of newsroom organization and how news is prepared for broadcast also influences the construction heavily. When employing an editor-in-chief, that individual is now a gatekeeper and decides what information the public will have access to.

Journalistic Roles. Within the idea of journalism practices, it is also important to analyze the differences in role conceptions and the impact these could have on the construction of news. Shoemaker and Reese explain roles Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explain routines are patterned, routinized, and repeated practices. Understanding role conceptions are important because roles can affect what a journalist thinks is worth transmitting to an audience and how the story should be developed (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Roles can be assessed from both an individual, and institutional level. Institutional roles in organizations can vary in three ways: interventionism, power distance, and market orientation (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011). Interventionism examines the extent to which a journalist will support specific viewpoints or ideas, power distance relates to the position journalism holds within a society, and lastly, market orientation identifies whether journalism focuses on serving the public interest or reacting to market forces based on commodities and consumerism.

In an attempt to better understand journalistic roles, Van Dalen, de Vreese and Albaek (2012) analyzed the way journalists in four countries described their role and how they did their work. The four countries included were: Spain, Denmark, Germany and Great Britain. The researchers focused specifically on political news, and analyzed the approaches taken in disseminating information. These approaches included a pragmatic versus sacerdotal approach, an impartial or partisan approach, and lastly an entertainment or informative approach. Van Dalen, de Vreese and Albaek (2012) argue these three elements are important for a variety of reasons as they can affect how news is constructed. First, if a journalist holds a more pragmatic role in society, content is more likely to include frames such as conflict and game. Second, the amount of partisanship a journalist views in their role, can affect both the amount and tone of coverage given to elites. Lastly, the inclusion of entertainment in news will often times lead to gains in viewership, but will ultimately lead to a public less informed about politics.

The most important finding from Van Dalen, de Vreese and Albaek (2012) is that role conceptions vary more across countries than within. Of the four countries analyzed in this study, Spain was the most different in how journalists viewed their role and the way they did their work. This variance occurred on multiple levels. First, Spain adopts a sacerdotal role in journalism, which can be tied to the sacerdotal culture the country has embodied since the 1970s. Spanish journalists also feel less autonomous in their role than others, and this influences their work because they feel pressure to conform to the owners of media organizations. Lastly, in Spain there are stronger divisions of audience members based on partisan lines, which forces Spanish media to adapt coverage to keep

audience members. It is also important to note that the Great Britain was also distinctly different as their role was more entertainment oriented, which can be attributed to the competitive liberal media system in which they work.

Understanding the social factor of role perceptions is necessary because although the differences between roles are small, they are important and consequential.

Another important element in journalistic practices is the concept of values. Although most news organizations have the same access to content (through wire services such as the Associated Press and Reuters), there are decisions on what to include based on a country's policies, norms and culture.

To better understand the way values impact news practices, Waheed et al. (2013) used the Basic Human Values scale (a composite measure of 10 global values) to understand the differences between news values in developed and developing countries. Findings indicate that developed and developing countries have adopted the Western values of objectivity, neutrality and detachment. There are some distinctions though when comparing nations. For instance, developing nations often use what is called "developmental journalism" (Hanitzsch, 2004). In practicing developmental journalism, there is often a more positive and supportive tone given to political elites, whereas developed nations tend to use narrative structures focused around conflict and criticism.

Journalistic values as a social factor are important because culture shapes what content is included and the approach taken to delivering that content. As noted with

practices and roles, values are one of the elements that influences news construction, but instead are a piece that create influence and shape narratives.

Media Systems. As noted previously, analyzing media systems has a long history in journalism research. One of the earliest examples of this approach was Desmond's (1937) text titled the *Press and World Affairs*. Desmond analyzed the way the news was produced and disseminated by looking at the media as a global system. Another important work was that of Siebert in the text *Four Theories of the Press* (1956). Siebert attempted to explain how the press was organized and operated, and presented four media traditions of the press. These include the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communism.

Current research indicates the media system to which a country belongs impacts the way journalism is practiced. Curran et al. (2009) examined journalism in the United States, the United Kingdom, Finland and Denmark and categorized these countries into three distinct media systems. First, America was described as being a "Pure Market" system. In this system, the media operates based on market forces with little interference from the government. A vast majority of the media is owned privately, with only about 2% held in public hands. In early studies, such as Siebert (1956), American media would be classified in the social responsibility tradition, but the advent of 24-hour news has softened many of the values associated with this. The second system identified was the "Public Service" model, which is embodied by both Finland and Denmark. In this model, there is extensive influence by the government. Governments provide subsidies to the media with the understanding the media will provide information to create a more

politically informed and active public. This system has produced the most informed public in both domestic and international matters (Curran et al., 2009). Lastly, the United Kingdom fell in between these two systems. This system is unique because it is home to the largest and most well respected public news service (the BBC), but is also home to the cable news network, B Sky B. B Sky B was allowed to develop almost completely unregulated, and thus has had immense impact on the BBC. The impacts include changes in news values, inclusion of more soft news content, and a stronger focus on entertainment.

With an understanding of the role media systems, values and culture can have on news, this review of literature will now discuss the topic of this study, terrorism and the media.

Terrorism and the Media

As previously noted, the mass media and terrorism have a important relationship. Barnett and Reynolds (2009) note “the media are the primary vehicles through which a significant number of people learn and come to understand terrorism” (p. 3). This section will discuss what terrorism is, the history of terrorism, and the two current threats: the Islamic State and the Lone Wolf.

What is Terrorism? One challenge with research on terrorism is the varied definitions of what constitutes an act of terror, terrorism organizations, and the way these terms are used.

While the definition of terrorism has varied interpretations, most scholars agree on certain components. As Barnett & Reynolds (2009) state “Russian leader Vladimir

Lenin, responsible for the Red Terror of 1917 – 1921, once said ‘the purpose of terrorism is to produce terror.’” (p. 14). The meaning of the word “terror” reinforces this idea as “it originates in Latin from the word *terrere*, which means to frighten” (Barnett & Reynolds, 2009, p. 14).

Terrorism can also be defined as acts of violence against “soft” targets, such as civilians (Townshend, 2002; Tuman, 2003; Gerhards & Shafer, 2014). Historically, experts from think tanks and universities have also focused on “tactics” as the defining element of terrorism (Moeller, 2009).

There are three key factors that distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence and include: terrorism deliberately targets civilians, the victims and the intended audience of an act of terror are not the same, and the psychological impact of an act of terror is intended to be far greater than the physical damage that is caused (Moeller, 2009). As Moeller (2009) notes, “the goal of terrorism is to send a message, not defeat the enemy” (p. 18).

Although the definition of terrorism is in-flux, Sloan (2006) states, “the definition of terrorism has evolved over time, but its political, religious and ideological goals have practically never changed.” Scholars also agree “a good definition must not lose its original meaning because the term has ‘become part of the rhetoric of insults exchanged between political opponents’” (Merari, 1993; Barnett & Reynolds, 2009, p. 15). A lack of a clear definition of terrorism, and the way the media uses the term, as Barnett and Reynolds (2009) note “is one of the criticisms lobbied against many media in their

coverage of terrorism - a lack of definitional precision, and a politicizing of the term” (p. 15).

The relationship between terrorism and the media has increased immensely since the September 11th terrorist attacks and leads to an additional definition (Barnett & Reynolds, 2009). Nacos (2007) created the term “mass mediated terrorism” and explains:

“the idea here is that most terrorists calculate the consequences of their deeds, the likelihood of gaining media attention, and most important, the likelihood of winning entrance - through the media - to what I call *The Triangle of Political Communication*. In mass societies in which direct contact and communication between the governors and the governed are no longer possible, the media provide the lines of communication between public offices and the general public” (p. 15)

History of Terrorism. Terrorism as a tactic is not new, but the understanding of what is an act of terror has evolved. Prior to the word “terrorism” existing, there are several accounts of acts of terror taking place. For example, Assurnasirpal, the king of Assyria enforced his rule over conquered territories and stated “I built a pillar over against his city gate and I flayed all the chiefs who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skin” (Matusitz, 2013, p. 7). Matusitz (2013) explains that early terrorism, specifically during the Roman period, included events of tyrannicide (killing of tyrants) or regicide (killing of kings). Barnett and Reynolds (2009) argue “assassination is one of the earliest forms of terrorism. In the year 66, the Zealots assassinated several religious and political figures, often using daggers to cut their victims’ throats in the midst of a crowd” (p. 13).

Historically, the more well-known version of early terrorism began during the French revolution in the 1790s (Matusitz, 2013). This period of time, known as the “Reign of Terror”, was the French government inflicting acts of terror against civilians. This is in stark contrast to most current views of terrorism.

In more modern times, Laquer (1999) argues “there has been a radical transformation, if not a revolution, in the character of terrorism” (p. 4). To understand this more fully, Laquer (1999) classifies acts of terror as “old terrorism” or “new terrorism”, with the distinguishing factor being the targets of attacks. As Matusitz (2013) explains “old terrorism is terrorism that strikes only selected targets. New terrorism is terrorism that is indiscriminate; it causes as many casualties as possible” (p. 11). Laqueur (1999) further states new terrorism is “aiming not at a clearly defined political demands but at the destruction of society and the elimination of large sections of the population” (p. 81).

It is argued the term “terrorism” is a pejorative term, and “when people employ the term, they characterize their enemies’ actions as something evil and lacking human compassion. Terrorism is considered worse than war, torture, or murder (Matusitz, 2013, p. 2). Due to the associated meanings of the word, previous research indicates the coverage of terrorism and terrorist organizations varies based on media affiliation. Many news organizations currently have policies in place in regards to covering terrorism and how to define an act of terror. For example, Reuters upholds the principle that they will not use the word “terrorist” (Moeller, 2009). Moeller (2009) further explains:

“Reuters’ caution in applying the term was prescient; its caution is now reflected in many newsroom guidelines. Many prominent news outlets have come to agree that not only should journalists not take moral positions on the stories they cover, but that using the label ‘terrorism’ or ‘terrorist; is in effect doing so”.

This issue is echoed in the UNESCO Terrorism and the Media Handbook for journalists (2017), stating that using the term “terrorist” or “terrorism” “have always been tricky; the subject of controversy” (p. 19). The statements “One person’s terrorist is another

person's freedom fighter" and "Today's terrorist is tomorrow's statesperson", "have become clichés in journalistic and political commentaries. They mean that using these terms is never neutral. Naming is, to a certain extent, choosing a side, at the risk of masking reality or accepting the interpretation that one of the newsmakers wishes to impose" (UNESCO, 2017, p.19). Although news organizations agree that the term is inundated with meaning, it is still widely used in mainstream media.

As noted in the introduction of this study, there are two key areas of concern regarding terrorism: the organized group (the Islamic State) and the single attacker (the Lone Wolf).

The Islamic State. To fully understand the present situation of terrorism, it is essential to examine the development of the Islamic State as an organization. In addition, all events selected for analysis as examples of "leader-led" attacks were carried out by the Islamic State.

Following the United States invasion of Iraq in 2003, and a process to "de-Baathify" the Iraqi civil and military services, hundreds of thousands of Sunnis were left without a job. With this came outrage and unrest by Sunnis, and the terrorist organization Al Qaeda chose to capitalize on this. It was at this point Al Qaeda developed the group known as Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) to fight against the United States invasion in 2003.

The power of AQI was diminished in 2007 during the period known as the Sunni Awakening, in which Sunni tribes supported by the United States fought against the terrorist group. Throughout this time, AQI would frequently move back and forth

between Syria and Iraq, solidifying contacts in both regions. When the Arab Spring began in 2009 there were uprisings against Bashar al-Assad, the dictator of Syria. AQI used the outrage against Assad for crimes against Syrians (such as the shooting and gassing of civilians), as an opportunity to establish a stronger presence in the country. AQI moved into Syria and joined forces with their Syrian counterpart. This was not something al Qaeda was pleased with, as they had already begun to establish a front in the area (a group known as al-Nusra). By 2011, AQI had used this unrest in Syria as a means to regaining power and expanding control. By 2013, AQI had reestablished itself in Iraq, and changed its name to ISIS.

While the Islamic State and Al Qaeda have similar characteristics, as they are both radical anti-Western militant groups devoted to establishing an independent Islamic State in the region, the two organizations have been distinctly separate since 2013 following a disagreement regarding institutional goals. This disagreement began an intra-jihadi war that would span across Syria, Iraq, Somalia, areas in Africa, and online (Micallef, 2016).

The Islamic State was the first rebel group to capture and control such a large swath of land, such as the large city of Raqqa, Syria. In the summer of 2014, ISIS captured Mosul, Iraq and claimed territory all the way up to the outskirts of Baghdad. Following this powerful movement, ISIS renamed itself “the caliphate”. This also sent a strong message to other terrorist groups around the world, such as Boko Haram, who began pledging allegiance to the Islamic State.

Since 2014, and following the separation from AQI, the Islamic State has expanded its reach to the extent that it now controls what amounts to a state of its own across vast areas across Syria and Iraq (Sly, 2014). The Islamic State has not only gained military control, but has also established what some may argue equates to a “state” run government by issuing taxes, creating schools, services and consumer protection agencies, holding court proceedings, and the flying of the black-and-white ISIS flag over their domain (Sly, 2014). Financial resources for the organization are significant, and come from a variety of origins including the seizure of oil fields, extortion, and contributions by wealthy donors. Of these revenue streams, the seizure of oil fields has proved to be the most beneficial, with some estimates stating oil alone could have been making ISIS up to \$3 million dollars every day in 2015. (Thompson et. al, 2015). Recent reports indicate that the amount of money made from oil has fallen drastically, in part due to the technological inability of ISIS to maintain aging equipment (Micallef, 2016). In 2018, funding for the Islamic State has decreased dramatically. “At one point, IS was reported to be so short of funds that it was imposing random fines for offences like driving on the wrong side of the road” (BBC, 2018).

Western officials can only offer rough estimates on the number of Islamic State militants. Tunisians make up the majority of foreign recruits, which some have attributed to the Tunisian government being too lenient on those who incite radicalism (Trofimov, 2016). In 2018, the numbers of Islamic State militants has decreased drastically and “ the U.S. military thinks fewer than 1,000 are left in areas where the American coalition is operating in Iraq and Syria (Reuters Staff, 2018).

In 2015 and 2016, the fight against the Islamic State had grown. The United States has led a multinational coalition that has launched extensive airstrikes against Islamic State controlled territories. Since then, the Islamic State has lost approximately 40% of the populated territory it controlled in Iraq and between 10-20% of land in Syria, but there have been conflicting reports about the amount of land that has been reclaimed by the group.

While the Islamic State has made enormous strides in terms of gaining control of land, one of the most fundamental elements of their early success was the use of media to transmit messages. The Islamic State has been using social media platforms, more specifically Twitter, to recruit members, intimidate enemies, and portray a united front of established power in the Middle East. Western intelligence are worried by “their extraordinary command of seemingly less lethal weapons: state-of-the-art videos, ground images shot from drones and multilingual Twitter messages” (Shane & Hubbard, 2014). The Islamic State has also created their own forms of media to transmit messages to the public. These include a television channel called Bein HD4, and a magazine called Dabiq. Both are used to spread Islamic State ideology and propaganda.

One of the ways the Islamic State has gained immense notoriety, specifically in the Western world, is through the release of multiple videos via social media depicting the graphic executions of Western captives. Although this was not the first time a terrorist organization beheaded a captive on camera (Daniel Pearl was captured and killed in 2002) it became a trademark of the Islamic State. These include the 2014 beheadings of American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff, American aid worker Peter

Kassig, British aid workers David Haines and Alan Henning, French citizen Herve Gourdel, multiple un-named Lebanese and Kurdish soldiers, and dozens of Coptic Egyptians and Ethiopian Christians. The Islamic State has clearly planned and employed the far-reaching arms of social media, and developed this as one of their most important marketing tools that speak directly to Western audiences.

The Islamic State uses social media in multiple ways including publicizing and cultivating its campaign, threatening its enemies, appealing to supporters, attracting recruits and soliciting funding. While the Islamic State has been using social media throughout the past several years, most of the content was aimed at individuals stationed in Iraq or Syria. June, 2014 marked a turning point to whom the messages were directed and information became specifically targeted towards the West with English-language tweets and English translations of Arabic videos. ISIS has also employed current cultural trends to target a Western audience. For example, one meme clearly aimed to recruit young Westerners was the image of two Islamic State fighters posing over a caption comparing jihad to the video game Call of Duty.

Twitter, and the Arabic-language Twitter application called The Dawn of Glad Tidings have become the predominant social media platform for Islamic State militants, supporters and sympathizers to inflate and control their message (Berger, 2014). The Dawn of Glad Tidings (also called The Dawn) is an official Islamic State product and is touted as a way for individuals to keep up to date on the current movement of the group. Once users sign up for the Dawn, the app will automatically post tweets developed by Islamic State insiders on users main Twitter accounts, which may include

links, hashtags and images. The “content is also tweeted by the accounts of everyone else who has signed up for the app, spaced out to avoid triggering Twitter’s spam-detection algorithms. Your Twitter account functions normally the rest of the time, allowing you to go about your business” (Berger, 2014). The Dawn has been widely used since April 2014, and the amount of activity is directly correlated to ISIS activities, but has used The Dawn to broadcast over 40,000 tweets in one day (Berger, 2014).

The Islamic State has also created organized hashtag campaigns to that allow organizational messages to “trend”, meaning that phrase is extremely popular at the time. As messages gain more absorption, social media users are more likely to be exposed to ISIS messaging. “ISIS also uses hashtags to focus-group messaging and branding concepts, much like a Western corporation might” (Berger, 2014). Popular hashtags used by the organization include “#AMessageFromISISToUS”, “#StevensHeadInObamasHands”, “#AllEyesonISIS”, and “#CalamityWillBefallUS” (Trowbridge, 2014). The Islamic State has also used trending hashtags to help spread their message. For instance, following the 2014 earthquake in Napa, California, ISIS began using the tag #napaquake, and posts about Northern California earthquake were mixed with threats against the United States, attacks on President Obama and gruesome photos of dead American soldiers.

It is essential to understand how the Islamic State influences others through elements such as the Internet and social media, as this is how many of the “Lone Wolf” terrorists were inspired to carry out their attacks. Terrorist organizations have the ability to use both the traditional mass media, specifically television news, to gain notoriety, but

can now also frame messages themselves and attract supporters through the vast reaching arm of the Internet.

The Lone Wolf. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, acts of terror carried out by individuals have become more prominent, with some even claiming “2016 was the year of the Lone Wolf terrorist” (Byman, 2017). The United States government echoes these sentiments. Former FBI director Robert S. Mueller stated in 2003 “the threat from single individuals sympathetic or affiliated with al-Qaeda, acting without external support or surrounding conspiracies, is increasing, in part because of heightened publicity surrounding recent events”. President Obama reverberated these statements in 2011, saying “the risk that we're especially concerned over right now is the Lone Wolf terrorist, somebody with a single weapon being able to carry out wide-scale massacres” (Associated Press Staff, 2011). The definition of terrorism prior to the September 11 attacks has been altered, and “the traditional way of understanding terrorism and looking at terrorists based on organizational definitions and attributes in some cases is no longer relevant” (Hoffman, 2003, p. 16).

Spaaij (2010) defines Lone Wolf terrorism based on three keys components. Lone Wolf terrorists “(a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, and (c) whose *modi operandi* are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy” (Spaaij, 2010, p. 857). Hamm & Spaaij (2015) add to this definition explaining that in order for an individual to be classified as a Lone Wolf terrorist, the act must be considered political violence. Hoffman (2003) employs an alternate definition, explaining that those

categorized as lone wolves are often times inspired or motivated by a larger movement they are not officially part of, but still connect to emotional or spiritual components of the group. Unlike traditional acts of terrorism, lone wolves are often rarely motivated by politics; instead personal grievances are a stronger source of ambition (Hoffman, 2003).

Although Lone Wolf attacks have become more prolific in recent years, the concept of Lone Wolf terrorism is not new. In 1940, one of the earliest cases of Lone Wolf attacks was by George Metesky, an angry employee who left pipe bombs around New York City. Metesky's attacks spanned over 16 years where he used 33 bombs and injured eight people (Worth, 2016).

In recent history, every attack except the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were carried out by Lone Wolves or small cells not affiliated to a larger organization. These include: Theodore Kaczynski (the "Unabomber"), Timothy McVeigh (Oklahoma City bomber), Eric Rudolph (1996 Atlanta Olympics bomber), John Muhammad and John Lee Malvo (D.C.-area snipers), and Nidal Hasan (Fort Hood Shooter), (Hoffman, 2003; Bergen, 2015). Prior to the September 11th attacks, there were a total of 38 Lone Wolf terrorists between 1940 and 2000 and an additional 45 between 2001 and 2013 (Hamm & Spaaij, 2015). Attacks prior to 2001 were committed using predominantly homemade bombs and firearms, while after 9/11, Lone Wolves used a wider variety of weaponry including "airplanes, biological weapons, knives and construction equipment" (Hamm & Spaaij, 2015, p. 4).

Although it might seem that Lone Wolf terrorism is on the rise, some research indicates that in terms of "lethality, Lone Wolf terrorism is not on the rise", but is going

through two important changes (Hamm & Spaaij, 2015, p. 2). These include that “uniformed police and military personnel have become the primary target of Lone Wolf terrorists. Second, consistent with the relaxation of U.S. gun laws since the 1990s and the recent trend in mass shootings, the Lone Wolf’s preferred weaponry is now a staggering range of high-velocity firearms” (Hamm & Spaaij, 2015, p. 2)

Research indicates it is difficult to create a profile for a Lone Wolf terrorist, but there are a few commonalities. Hamm & Spaaij (2015) explain:

“the evidence indicates that most of them are unemployed, single white males with a criminal record. When compared to members of al-Qaeda, American Lone Wolf terrorists are more likely to be unmoored from society. The findings imply that Lone Wolf terrorism is caused by relative deprivation. In their social exclusion, lone individuals feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled, and form grievances against the government responsible for their unemployment, discrimination and injustices. Their violence is a deviant adaptation to this gap between means and goals. One reason for this relatively high level of alienation is that more than half of the lone wolves embraced right-wing or anti-government ideologies. Nationalistic movements—such as American white supremacy movements—have tended to produce terrorists from the lower classes, while religious terrorists like al-Qaeda come from all classes” (p. 7).

The Islamic State has had an impact of many who have become “radicalized” and committed Lone Wolf acts of terror. “The first ISIS-inspired Lone Wolf attack in America came on September 26, 2014, when thirty-year-old Alton Nolen beheaded a co-worker at a food processing plant in Oklahoma” (Hamm & Spaaij, 2015, p. 3). From 2014 – 2016, one of the key components of the Islamic State’s propaganda was directed at Lone Wolves in the West to carry out attacks using any means necessary. Recent research indicates “Lone Wolf attacks are more common and more deadly than terrorist group attacks in the United States (controlling for the 9/11 attacks by al-Qaeda) (Spaaij, 2012; Hamm & Spaaij, 2015).

Although research indicates the threat of the Lone Wolf is enormous, there is no current literature examining the framing of Lone Wolf attacks and if coverage differs from attacks by organized terror groups. This leaves a gap in the literature that this study intends to fill.

Foundations of Framing Theory. Though widely used in media studies, the theoretical conception of framing has had varied operationalization, agreement, and use by scholars over the past several decades. The concept of framing theory was first developed by Goffman (1974) and was described as “frame analysis”. Goffman suggests “when the individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, he tends, whatever else he does, to imply in this response (and in effect employ) one of more frameworks or schemata of interpretation”.

A current and widely held definition and conceptualization of framing was established by Entman (1993) and states framing “involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation”. The importance of framing theory lies in the way analysis of frames allows one to observe the ways in which the communication of information influences human consciousness (Entman, 1993). In addition, Reese et. al (2001) attempts to clarify the process stating “frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, they work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world. These definitions accentuate the significance in framing’s ability to create, influence and shape individual’s perceptions of events.

Entman (1993) further explains framing makes some events more salient in a communication text. Frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience. Entman (1993) states information is framed in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. These four functions are foundational in Entman's approach to framing theory. First, problem definition is the determination of what causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits to whom. These costs and benefits are often measured by cultural values and beliefs. Secondly, the causal interpretation is where attention is paid to identifying the forces creating the problem. Third, the moral evaluation takes place through the evaluation of causal agents and their effects and lastly the treatment recommendation offers and justifies treatments for the problems and predicts their likely effects.

According to Entman (2004) frames in television news have four locations within the communication process and include: the communicators, the texts, the receiver's thinking and the culture. The communicators (such as news editors or reporters) make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief systems. The texts contain frames that are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. The receiver's thinking might or might not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator. Lastly, the culture includes the stock of stories that are commonly invoked (Hall, 1973). A culture may be defined as the

empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping. These groupings can be based on numerous cultural characteristics such as location, language, beliefs, and values demonstrated by an audience.

Frames in the news are typically a part of the reporting process for three different classifications of objects: political events, issues and actors (Entman, 2004). Often the same set of news stories simultaneously frame more than one object, providing framing information not just about an event, but also about a related issue or actor. When discussing framing theory, it is also important to note the convergence framing theory has with agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting “is a theory about the transfer of salience from the mass media’s pictures of the world to those in our heads” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 67). The media sets the public’s agenda by focusing on some events and issues, and not others. The way acts of terror are framed and the coverage paid to them sets the public agenda and the discourse surrounding the topic.

With the foundation of framing theory laid, other ways the theory is used to examine mass media messages is now addressed. Though framing theory can be used to analyze both print and broadcast news, it is important to distinguish the differences between the framing that occurs visually (through pictures) and what manifests through printed or spoken word. This study will analyze both images (visual) and spoken word (verbal) elements in respect to the framing of events.

Visual Framing. Visuals have special qualities- their iconicity, indexicality, and their syntactic implicitness - which make them very effective tools for framing and articulating

ideological messages (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Fahmy, 2010). Visual framing is also viewed as less obtrusive than verbal framing as visuals can often convey meaning that would be more controversial or might be met with resistance if they were conveyed through words (Messaris & Abraham, 2001).

Visual framing analysis identifies the importance images provide as they can “reinforce cultural stereotypes which may not even be referred to in the lexical-verbal text (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Parry, 2010). Visual framing has also been noted to be easier for the audience to overlook due to the unobtrusiveness of imagery (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Fahmy, 2004). Mandell & Shaw (1973) examined how slight changes in visuals, such as camera angle and the bodily state of the on-camera persona affected audience interpretation and found most viewers are unaware of the visual manipulations that may influence the framing of specific news events.

The determination of visual images displayed within a broadcast also contributes to the framing of events. “Selection is inevitable in the making of a photographic image and displaying it to the public” (Messaris & Abraham, 2001; Fahmy, 2004). In analyzing visual framing of political candidates, Grabe et. al (2009) state “the more prominent an issue, event, or theme becomes in the public consciousness – that is, the more media coverage it receives –it tends to shape how leaders are judged.” The amount of visual coverage given to certain events has an impact on how viewers of news perceive these occurrences. Fahmy (2010) echoes this, stating one of the most powerful framing devices is the frequency a topic is mentioned - by repeating and reinforcing visual messages that reference some ideas (and not others) convey constant meaning.

In a recent study on the visual framing of terrorism, Fahmy (2010) examined the visual framing differences between the Arabic newspaper, Al- Hayat and the English newspaper, IHT. Results indicated Al-Hayat framed the attacks by memorializing the act, contained bloody images, had a strong presence depicting the Muslim world, showed more images that were anti-war/anti-American, and lastly, emphasized the anti-war frame. On the other hand, the English paper, IHT, published photos of Palestinians celebrating the news of the attacks, contained images that were more benign and less bloody, focused on photos that depicted the Western world, and emphasized a pro-war frame. The understanding of visual framing in this instance is even more important as numerous U.S. officials have repeatedly accused Arab language media, such as Al Hayat, of harming the image of America in the Muslim world.

Visual determinism is the idea that images often drive public opinion. With this understanding, the way in which framing of visuals is present becomes a question of slant, structure, emphasis, etc. that can reinforce common ways of interpreting developments. Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008) examined the Iraq invasion by examining the U.S. master war narrative. The master war narrative contends that the United States holds a place of special moral responsibility in the world and so, though reluctant to go to war, is sometimes compelled to take on the role of the hero. In the case of the invasion of Iraq, there was a statistical difference in the way visuals were framed in the first week of the invasion and subsequent weeks. This change demonstrates that frames are not necessarily static and instead can transform over time creating new narrative structures (Snow & Benford, 1988) that Bennett (1975) calls “scenarios”.

Additional research suggests newsroom ideologies influence image selection. Silcock (2008) examined the images used by CNN and Fox News Channel in the coverage of the invasion of Iraq. Findings indicate Fox News' pro-administration culture influenced the graphical selections. Silcock (2007) found news routines within organizations influence image selection and editing. Specifically, American news routines "call for words to be scripted first" (Silcock, 2007, p. 9) while British news routines "first construct a sequence of pictures to convey meaning, and then the journalist writes the news script to match the visuals" (Silcock, 2007, p. 9). This research indicates newsroom culture and routines influence visual framing of events.

The importance of visuals in the framing process are often overlooked - Messaris and Abraham (2001) note:

"Although television news analysis often ignores the visual aspects of the news text, much of the meaning of news narratives may be generated by the relationship between particular images and their verbal components (Hartley, 1982). And it is important to point out that newscast video images do not always just support the verbal text; they may sometimes convey implicit information that is 'factual and evaluative beyond that asserted orally and in sending competing and perhaps discrepant stimuli' (Adams, 1978, p. 169). Thus implicit information from visuals may contribute significantly to the semantic interpretation of news stories" (p. 220).

Verbal Framing. Entman (1993) explains messages of events can also be framed verbally - utilizing word choice, placement of information (such as at the beginning of a newscast), and meaning assigned to events by audience members (Elmasry et. al, 2013). Iyengar (1993) adds:

"Given the widespread presence of framing effects associated with wording shifts in the presentation of choice problems or opinion questions, similar effects might be expected with media news presentations. Most people encounter the world of public affairs through the language of television" (p. 61).

Framing literature states there are several categories of frames that are employed by news organizations and include: generic, episodic, and thematic frames. Generic frames “typically describe structural aspects and general features of news that can apply across different topic, times and cultural contexts” (Godefroidt et. al, 2016, p. 781). General frames frequently employed by news organizations include: conflict, human interest, economic impact, morality, responsibility and nationalization frames (De Vreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Van Cauwenberge et. al, 2009; Godefroidt et. al, 2016). Additionally, Iyengar and Simon (1993) explain “the episodic frame depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances or specific events” while thematic news frames “ place public issues in some general or abstract concept” (p. 369).

When examining the literature on visual and verbal framing of acts of terror, there is a wide range of information to analyze.

Terrorism and Framing. There has been substantial research conducted in recent years analyzing the framing of terrorism-related acts. As Miller (1982) states “terrorism and the media are inclined in an almost inexorable, symbiotic relationship. Terrorism is capable of writing any drama, no matter how horrible, to compel the media’s attention”. This relationship includes framing of events, people, and religions.

Islam and the Middle East first entered the contemporary U.S. news cycle because of connections to oil, war, and to some extent, terrorism (Powell, 2011). This shaped what audiences in the West knew about the Middle East, which was minimal, leading to what scholars would deem an orientalist perspective (Said, 1978). The terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 changed the United States government’s and the American

media's, handling of terrorism - terrorism moved from being a concern to the U.S. government, to an all-out "war on terror" (Powell, 2011).

There has also been research analyzing the news frames depicting Muslims and the Middle East. Following September 11th, U.S. news coverage has drawn on and reinforced a discourse of "us" vs. "them" with Muslims replacing the Cold War communists as the cultural enemy (Guzman, 2016). News portrayals of Muslims and Islam have also varied based on location. For example, U.S. broadcasters presented Islam practiced in the United States as peaceful and acceptable while framing the same religion in other countries as radical (Ibrahim, 2010). In addition, following September 11th, US news coverage has framed Middle Eastern countries as a "friend" or "enemy" based on their support for the United States.

Globally, the framing of terrorism follows the process developed by Entman, which includes identifying a problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993). This influences the construction of narratives as the frames adopted by a government when reacting and responding to terrorist acts can influence society's perceptions (Papacharissi & Oliviera, 2008).

Research on terrorism coverage also indicates numerous factors that influence the framing of events. First, the proximity affects coverage (Gatlung & Ruge, 1965). The closer in proximity to the attack it "makes an event more meaningful for a country and its audiences"(Ruigrok and van Atteveltdt, 2007, p. 72). An additional factor is what is known as "domesticating" an event. When framing acts of terror, news will often be constructed within a "narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by

newsmen as well as by audiences (Gurevitch et al., 1991, p. 207). The concept of domesticating within news is further described:

“First, by casting far-away events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and “relevant” to domestic audiences; and second, by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the “dominant ideology” of the societies they serve” (Gurevitch et al., 199, p. 206).

The concept of domesticating events is further explained as “different meanings deliberately occur as news organizations frame their story in familiar narratives and reshape foreign themes for a domestic audience” (Silcock, 1995 in Paletz, 1996).

In terrorism coverage, it is argued that there is a worldwide normative assessment that indicates acts of terror should be rejected (Norris et al., 2003). Coverage also follows what some describe as a script (Powell, 2011), which condemns the terrorists and gives compassion to the victims. In this coverage, political actors or elites have an immense impact on the way coverage is shaped (Bennett, 1990), such as the Bush administration did following the attacks of September 11th, 2001.

In a study of 11 terrorist attacks in the United States from October 2001 to January 2010, Powell (2011) found that coverage of terrorism by American media is framed primarily as a problem from Islam. Powell (2011) also presents the idea that within American media, a script is followed when covering acts of terror. This research suggests there are five dominant themes within terrorism coverage: the naming of the terrorism suspect as “Muslim”, “Al-Qaeda”, or “terrorist”; the descriptors of the agent as “angry” or “extremist”; the motives being a violent revenge for other killings; the threat level of future events was high making the possibility of more threats of terrorism salient;

and lastly, the victims were often labeled as heroes for their effort to stop an actor or for solely being a victim of the attack itself.

Powell examines the differences in media framing “between terrorists who were Muslim with international ties and terrorists who were U.S. citizens with no clear international ties” (p. 105). Findings indicate “acts of terrorism has become so programmatic as to have created a thematic frame of terrorism: war of Islam on the United States” (p. 105). Powell (2011) presents how acts of terror are scripted within American media based on a terrorist being labeled as “Muslim”. When they are labeled as Muslim and are not U.S. citizens, media frames the event as the individual being “connected to a larger terrorist cell”, the attack as a “war on American by Islam” and the “future threat from Islam is enhanced”. Conversely, if the attacker was a U.S. citizen, the terrorist was given “human descriptors”, the “reason for the attack is investigated” and the attack is framed as an “isolated incident” with “no future threat) (Powell, 2011, p. 106). This research provides valuable insight into American coverage of acts of terror by U.S. and non- U.S. citizens, but raises the question whether this “scripting” is similar in global media channels and how does the classification (as Lone Wolf or Islamic State), rather than citizenship, influence this script that this research aims to advance.

As terrorism becomes more salient, it is important to understand how mass media frames these events. Framing theory supports the understanding of the effects of mass communication, and offers suggestions for communication scholars. Understanding the way media frames news is important because of the subtle but powerful effects on the audience.

Chapter Summary

This review of literature focused on television news, comparative journalism approaches, television news coverage of terrorism, terrorism, and framing theory. It is clear there is an opportunity for new research in this field of inquiry. Although there is extensive research analyzing the framing of terrorist events, there is no content analysis comparing how attacks are framed based on the classification of the attacker.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This review of literature sets up the following research questions, sub-questions and hypotheses for an in-depth analysis of global news channels framing of terrorist acts:

RQ 1: In what ways do American television news broadcasts frame acts of terror?

RQ 1a: In what ways do American television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf?

RQ 1b: In what ways do American television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf?

RQ 1c: In what ways do American television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

RQ 1d: In what ways do American television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

RQ 2: In what ways do International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror?

RQ 2a: In what ways do International television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf?

RQ 2b: In what ways do International television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf?

RQ 2c: In what ways do International television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

RQ 2d: In what ways do International television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

RQ3: Based on the findings of RQ1 and RQ2, in what ways, if at all, do American television news and International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror differently based on the classification of the attacker?

H1: There will be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf in American television news broadcasts.

H2: There will be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State in American television news broadcasts.

H3: There will be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf in International television news broadcasts.

H4: There will be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State in International television news broadcasts.

H5: There will be no differences in global news network's visual framing of acts of terror based on the classification of the attack.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

“Some scholars have even noted that content analysis may be one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences.”
(Krippendorff, 2004, p. xiii)

Content analysis has a long history in the social scientific research paradigm with systematic analysis of texts being traced back to the Church in the 17th century (Krippendorff, 2004). In media, the concept of a text can be both visual and verbal. Using content analysis is important in framing research as Reese et al. (2001) note “the joining together of journalists in support of desirable democratic goals can be an important movement, worthy of our attention and monitoring. Ultimately, if we want to connect professional features to professional work, it will mean relating the “hierarchy of influences” factors to textual and content analysis. This may mean considering effects of various factors on the press agenda (its emphasis on various issues and features) as well as on how issues are “framed” (how social life is organized, visually and verbally).

The field of social scientific research is focused on the goal of discovering laws and proposing theories that can provide explanation for social phenomena. The two pillars of science are theory and observation, and “scientific research operates at two levels: a theoretical level and an empirical level” (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 3).

Theory in the Social Sciences

Simply, the concept of “theory” can be defined as any attempt to explain or represent a phenomenon (Littlejohn, 1983). “A theory is a scholar’s construction of what an experience is like, based on systematic observation” (Littlejohn, 1983, p. 3). Theory is considered a scholar’s best representation of the state of affairs in a particular field of

study at any given time. The empirical level of research is focused on “testing the theoretical concepts and relationships to see how well they reflect our observations of reality, with the goal of ultimately building better theories. Over time, a theory becomes more and more refined (i.e., fits the observed reality better), and the science gains maturity” (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 3). This study seeks to add to the framing theory literature, specifically the ways global television news frames acts of terror.

One essential question when discussing the development of theory is: How do we come to profess what we know or think we know? There are three stages of inquiry: asking questions, observation, and constructing answers. In every field, including communication, these steps of inquiry are utilized in theory development. As the study of communication is a social science, its goal is to understand how people create, exchange, and interpret messages. Because of this, communication theory utilizes both scientific and humanistic methods.

The most basic justification for why we study the field of communication is that it provides us with a set of useful conceptual tools. Communication theory is a specific realm of inquiry focused on a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches used to explain the communication process. Humans communicate to facilitate daily living; and the ability to communicate on a higher level is one of the main differentiating factors between humans and other animals. This leads to the reason we study communication. Communication is one of the most “pervasive, important and complex clusters of behavior” (Littlejohn, 1983, p. 4).

The field of communication theory is still relatively young, but has seen great development in the past several decades. Communication theory is often divided based on contexts - Littlejohn (1983) separates communication theory into four contexts: dyadic, small group, organizational and mass communication.

The field of mass communication is broad and scholars tend to classify “mediated” contexts by four criteria. First, the audience of mass communication tends to be large, heterogeneous and messages are open and public. Second, mass communication can be viewed as one-way, in which the sender delivers messages to a mostly unknown audience and receives limited feedback in return. This idea of one-way communication has evolved with advancements of technology allowing audiences to be more active than they once were. Third, the transmission of messages is rapid, due to the advances of technology in the past several decades. Lastly, “most messages disseminated come from large organizations instead of from individuals” (Littlejohn, 1983, p. 264).

The development and integration of mass media into everyday life has led to what are called theories of “mass society”. The concept of “mass society” describes a malleable society where rather than having small groups of people or communities that influence behavior and identity there is instead a “mass” of individuals who have depersonalized relations. Scholars argue that in these types of societies those who can best manipulate the masses have the greatest power. Scholars, such as Paul Lazarsfeld have expressed fear of a “mass society” as the instruments of mass media have the ability to deteriorate aesthetic tastes and standards of popular culture. Mass media theorist Jacques Ellul echoes these sentiments, explaining that individuals do not make value

choices for themselves due to the system that creates uniformity and thoughtless compliance by the masses. Part of that system is the mass media, as it could be viewed as a vehicle for propaganda that creates uniformity by removing individuals from their cultural foundations. The study of mass communication still contains much controversy about how the media works, the effects that it may have on audiences and the way it relates to other areas of communication and society.

In the social sciences, research can be challenging due to “the imprecise nature of the theoretical concepts, inadequate tools to measure them, and the presence of many unaccounted factors that can also influence the phenomenon of interest” (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 4). Because theories in the realm of social scientific research are rarely perfect, one focus of research is often on refinement of existing theory. According to Bhattacharjee (2012), in order for research to be considered scientific, it must be knowledge acquired through the process of the scientific method and satisfy the four following characteristics: (1) replicability, (2) precision, (3) falsifiability and (4) parsimony. Replicability is the idea that others should be able to repeat a study and get similar results. Precision indicates that because theoretical concepts can be measured in a variety of ways, concepts must be clearly defined so that others may use them for future testing. Falsifiability states that theories must be developed in a way that they may be disproven. Lastly, parsimony indicates that because there are often multiple explanations for a phenomenon, researchers must always accept the “simplest of logically most economical explanation” (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 5).

This study examines these characteristics through the frames used by both American and International television news coverage of two types of terrorist acts: Leader-less jihad (Lone Wolf) and Leader-led jihad (Islamic State). The research questions and hypotheses are examined using a quantitative content analysis of visual messages and centering resonance analysis to examine verbal messages.

Content Analysis Methodology

According to Webster's Dictionary of the English Language (as cited in Krippendorff, 2004) content analysis is defined as the "analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect" (p. xvii). For social scientists, content analysis is defined in a variety of ways. Content analysis "is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). It is a method that "classifies textual material, reducing it to more relevant, manageable bits of data" by using "a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (Weber, 1990, p. 9). In addition, Berger (1998) notes it is a "research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form (p. 23).

Generally, Ahuvia (2001) argues content analysis is a "term for methodologies that code text into categories and then count the frequencies of occurrences within each category" (p. 139). Lastly, Krippendorff (2012) states content analysis is a "research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful

matter) to the contexts of their use (p. 24). This method can be used to “make sense” of information. There are many instances where content analysis can be utilized and include: comparing media or “levels” of communication, detecting the existence of propaganda, describing trends in communication content, or disclosing international differences in communication content (Berelson, 1952).

The first documented quantitative analysis of news coverage examined whether “newspapers now give the news” (Speed, 1893 as cited in Krippendorf, 2004). Since then, using content analysis as a methodology to study mass media has grown, first with radio, then television and movies and now to online content.

Historically, content analysis was inherently quantitative when examining mass media content but has evolved to include both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative approaches, also known as interpretive, have the following characteristics: they require a close reading of textual matter, they involve rearticulation of texts into new narratives, and the analysts acknowledge working within hermeneutic circles in which their own socially or culturally conditioned understandings constitutively participate” (Krippendorf, 2004, p. 17). Scholars note the key difference is that quantitative content analysis focuses on manifest meaning, while qualitative analysis focuses on latent meaning (Berelson, 1952; Schreier, 2012). This study will utilize a quantitative content analysis to examine the visual and verbal framing of terrorist acts.

Neuendorf (2012) explains there are nine steps in the typical content analysis procedure. These include:

1. Theory and rationale: This phase includes answering the questions of what content will be examined and why and whether there are utilizing a theory or perspective that indicates the content is important to study. In this stage, researchers develop research questions or hypotheses.
2. Conceptualization: Variables used in the study are identified and defined.
3. Operationalization: During the operationalization stage, the unit of data collection is decided and measurement of variables is analyzed. A coding scheme is developed where categories are exhaustive and mutually exclusive.
4. Coding Schemes: Coding may be completed by either humans or by Computer-Aided Text Analysis (CATA). If utilizing human coding, a codebook with an explanation of all variable measures and a coding form must be developed. If the research is utilizing CATA, a dictionary that includes all definitions and how they will be applied is created. These dictionaries may be internal to the program one is using, or may be created by the researcher.
5. Sampling: The sampling approach is decided by researchers.
6. Training and reliability: Coders are trained on the code book and the process of coding texts. Following training, each coder will code a subset of the sample to test for reliability. Throughout this process, the codebook and coding form may be revised.
7. Coding: It is recommended that a minimum of two coders are used to establish intercoder reliability.

8. Final reliability: At the end of the coding process, reliability should be calculated again using a statistic such as Scott's pi, Krippendorff's alpha, or Spearman's rho.
9. Tabulation and Reporting: Reporting of findings, most often in the form of figures or statistics. Longitudinal trends are also reported frequently within content analysis methodology.

These steps are followed in this study and are described in detail in the following pages. The theoretical framework for this study, as discussed in Chapter 2, is framing with the research questions and hypotheses of this study designed to build and advance the framing theory and the applications framing theory can have when examining global broadcast news coverage of acts of terrorism.

Conceptualization and Definition of Terms

This study selected acts of terror based on one key area of distinction, whether the attack was carried out by a terrorist organization or by a lone individual. These classifications are defined as:

Leader-led jihad: Attacks carried out by individuals or small cells with direct connection to a larger terrorist organization. This connection is often seen through financial contributions, militant training, and strategic planning. For this study, attacks carried out by the Islamic State were categorized as leader-led jihad.

Lone Wolf (leaderless jihad): For this study, Lone Wolf attacks are defined using the characteristics described by Spaaij (2010) as attacks carried out by individuals who (a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, and (c)

whose *modi operandi* are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy (p. 857).

Jihad: As the term *Jihad* is used within both categories, it is essential to develop a clear definition of how this term is used within this study. The definition of the term Jihad is one that is heavily contested with its meaning changing based on context. Silverman (2002) explains “Jihad is an Arabic word that means "struggle". In its Islamic context, it can refer to everything from striving to be a better person to waging war on behalf of God” (Silverman, 2002, p. 78). As O’Sullivan (2003) notes “In the West, Jihad is now understood to mean terrorism, tout court. And in the Muslim world, far too many now understand Jihad as justifying, indeed demanding the taking of innocent civilian life” (p. 33). Many argue that although the term has been used to describe an act deemed holy in Islamic faith, “terrorism is not only un-Islamic but anti-Islamic, and those who commit terrorism should be designated as criminals rather than as holy warriors or resistance fighters” (O’Sullivan, 2003, p.33). For the purpose of this study, Jihad will be defined as acts of violence as part of a holy war.

Attack: For this study, the “attack” includes the initial act of violence, but also includes any follow up investigations that are directly tied to the attack. For example, following the Paris attacks, French authorities searched and captured several of the men who were involved in the bombings and shootings. This is coded as part of the attack. This could include government or police officials commenting or discussing the on the initial attack or subsequent investigations.

Operationalization

Selected broadcasts, which are discussed in detail in the sampling section, were analyzed in their entirety for each day listed in the sample. Within each broadcast, there is a range of content with varying lengths of time. For this study, the definitions of story type from Silcock (2001) were adopted and all story types were included for analysis. These are:

Reader – The news anchor reads a story from the news set often with visual graphics, such as a map or an image depicting the story seen over the anchor's shoulder.

Voice Over – The viewer hears the anchor read the script but sees video about the story.

Voice Over with Sound bite – Same as the above only the anchor pauses and a newsmaker sound bite appears, often followed by more voice over by the anchor.

Phoner – An anchor taking on the role of reporter asks questions by phone of a newsmaker or experts.

Package – This is a narrated report written by newsroom staff or reporters live at the scene of the attack. Packages included video and sound bites. (Silcock, 2001, p. 17).

Following the identification of stories, the unit of analysis is the “attack-related” image. Each individual image was coded and a determination for what was considered a single image was made. This determination was difficult as “television newscasts air multiple, continuous images” (Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith, 2008, p. 453). Using the procedures of Aday et. al (2005) and Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008)

“the researchers coded a single video image each time the subject changed because of editing or, in the case of a pan, each time the subject changed, such as when the camera moved from a long shot to a tight shot” (p. 453).

Coding Scheme. When using content analysis as a methodological approach, the fourth step is the development of a coding scheme.

The coding scheme for visual framing was developed based on the work of Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008). The original coding scheme contained 30 categories (see Appendix A). The operationalization for the categories are as follows:

1. City scene in location of attack

Images of city scenes include things like tables and chairs, the weapon (such as a truck), broken shop windows, etc. City scene shots will usually not include identifiable people.

2. Map of location where attack occurred

A graphic representation of where the attack took place. This is often a map that is accompanied by words identifying different areas.

3. Map of Islamic State controlled territory in Iraq/Syria

A graphic representation that is accompanied by words identifying different areas. Many maps will also include color coded areas indicating Islamic State control.

4. Map of entire Middle East

A graphic representation that is accompanied by words identifying different areas in the Middle East.

5. Police equipment or ordinance

Police officers, investigators, police vehicles, yellow tape, individuals conducting an investigation etc. It may also include military personnel who have been brought in following the attack. Also includes police equipment such as guns, helmets, etc.

6. First responders immediately following attack

Ambulances, medics, etc.

7. Attack as it took place

The attack as it was actually happening. This category is reserved for professional or surveillance type of video; not cell phone images (which would be coded as amateur). An example of this would be the surveillance footage during the Paris shooting, or the professional footage of the Paris soccer game that was taking place when a bomb went off in the background.

8. People fleeing attack site

Individuals running/walking from attack site. This could include people hanging from windows, jumping into cars, etc. In addition, after the Paris attacks in the Bataclan theater, there were hostages who were released. These would be coded as people fleeing.

9. Amateur video during or immediately following attack

Video or photos taken by the use of cell phones during the attack.

10. U.S. police official(s)

Chief of Police in the city

11. U.S. government official(s)

Any government official from the United States. This includes the CIA and FBI, but does not include members of law enforcement (police).

12. Public official from location of attack

Any government official from the location of the attack. Could include mayors, Prime Minister, etc.

13. International police official(s): (please name)

Any official not connected to a country.

14. Victims at time of attack

15. Victims immediately following attack

16. Personal photos of victims before attack

Photos of those killed in the attack. To be a “victim” the individual must have been killed in the attack.

17. Survivors

Those who experienced the attack first hand and were not killed. They may have been injured in the attack. This may also include “eye witnesses” who could have been injured.

18. Attacker (personal photos)

Photos of the attacker prior to the attack. It may include them in their daily lives, with friends/family. This may also include photos from their social media pages.

19. Attacker (police photos)

Professional photos of the attacker. Most often a passport, visa, or mug shot.

20. Home of the attacker

Includes the residence itself and the “neighborhood” which the person lived/grew up. It may also include the location the attacker was staying prior to the attack, such as a hotel, etc.

21. Family/Friends of attacker

Interviews or photos with those who personally knew the attacker. This could be family/friends, etc. This would not include people who knew “of” them. There must be a personal connection that is made clear within the report.

22. Memorials/ Tributes

Flowers, signs, candles, etc. There are no people in images that are coded in this category

23. Community Support

Includes events such as blood donations, prayer services, vigils, moments of silence, rally’s etc. There must be people in these images. This could include national pastimes showing support, such as soccer games. This could include player/ coaches holding hands or hugging, fans dressed up, etc.

24. Mourners

Individuals who mourn the attacks. These images will show people with strong emotions (such as crying, hugging, etc.).

25. Text describing the attack

Includes text that might describe the attack itself, the number of victims, etc. It could also be text (such as a text message) describing what was happening. Most text will have an image behind it, but the text will be the dominant element on the screen. It

also includes text-only lists of victims' names. This may also include text that describes attributes of the attacker.

26. Islamic State soldiers

May include soldiers in battle, training, or in Islamic State propaganda videos

27. Islamic State leaders

Most commonly Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Islamic State, but may also include members who are identified as holding leadership positions within the report.

28. Other attack-related image

Any image that is related to the attack, but cannot be coded into any of the other categories.

29. Image is not related to the attack

Any image that is included within a story on the attack, but it not related to the attack in question. For example, in coverage of the Orlando attack, stock footage from the Paris attacks was used. This is not related to the attack being analyzed.

30. No dominant image

This coding scheme was used to identify three types of images present in each story: the dominant image, first image and all secondary images. These images were coded for analysis because of the how the use of them contributes to the framing of events.

When discussing how events are framed, Entman (1993) explains the “essence of framing is sizing” (p. 9). To operationalize the concept of sizing and identify dominant images, this study adopted the definition from Schwalbe, Silcock and Keith (2008) “that on television, visual dominance is based on the length of time a visual is shown” (p. 453).

First images were identified based on being the initial image to appear in the report. If the first image of a story was the reporter, the next image to appear was coded as the first image. Any image within a story that was not coded as either the dominant or the first image were coded as secondary images.

Sampling

Selection of News Broadcasts. There were many issues that had to be addressed in the process of data collection. This study relied on gaining access to archival footage of each television news organization, which varied in the levels of difficulty, which will be discussed in this section. Three American news broadcasts and three international news broadcasts were included for analysis. American news from PBS, NBC and CNN and International news from Sky News, Al Jazeera, and RT (formerly Russia Today). The selection of the specific data sets will be discussed.

American News Data Sets. Data sets were collected from the following American news networks: PBS, NBC and CNN. These networks were selected based on the operational, financial and ideological affiliations and included one public (PBS), one network (CBS), and one cable (CNN) news network.

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is an independent and non-profit organization that distributes content to affiliates across the United States. PBS has also been named the top source of trusted news for Americans since 2003 (ORC International, 2014). PBS's flagship news program, *Newshour*, was the show selected for this study. PBS *Newshour* airs a 60-minute nightly broadcast Monday through Friday, and broadcasts a 30-minute weekend edition Saturday and Sunday. In 2016, *Newshour*

“attracted 1 million viewers on average, up 22% from the year before” (Pew Research Center, 2016).

As an independent broadcast, *Newshour* states:

“We subscribe to standards of editorial independence adopted by the Institute for Nonprofit News:

Our organization retains full authority over editorial content to protect the best journalistic and business interests of our organization. We maintain a firewall between news coverage decisions and sources of all revenue. Acceptance of financial support does not constitute implied or actual endorsement of donors or their products, services or opinions.

We accept gifts, grants and sponsorships from individuals and organizations for the general support of our activities, but our news judgments are made independently and not on the basis of donor support”.

CBS is an American commercial network that started in 1927 (Bergreen, 1981).

The *CBS Evening News with Scott Pelley* (the anchor during the time period analyzed) and the *CBS Evening News* (broadcast on weekends) was selected for analysis as it is the flagship broadcast for CBS and was the nation’s first nightly 30-minute news program. The CBS evening news was anchored by Walter Cronkite, arguably the most well-known broadcaster in television news, from 1962 – 1981. CBS, along with the other two network news broadcasts (*ABC World News* and *NBC Nightly News*) experienced stability in viewership in 2016 with a combined 24 million viewers (Pew Research Center, 2016). The *CBS Evening News with Scott Pelley* and the *CBS Evening News* are both commercially-funded broadcasts.

The Cable News Network (CNN) is the first American 24-hour cable news network. “According to Pew Research Center analysis of Nielsen Media Research data, viewership increased for cable news channels in 2016. In prime time, combined average

viewership for the three major news channels (CNN, Fox News and MSNBC) increased by 55% to 4.8 million viewers (Pew Research Center, 2016). Although CNN broadcasts 24-hours a day, *Anderson Cooper 360* (commonly called AC-360) was selected for analysis. *Anderson Cooper 360* is hosted by journalist Anderson Cooper and is broadcast on CNN for American audiences and CNN International for global audiences. The show's first broadcast was in 2003 and began as a 60-minute news/talk program. In 2005, AC-360 was expanded to 2-hours, but as of January, 2018, it has been reduced to a one-hour broadcast. *Anderson Cooper 360* is often broadcast live from the site of major news events, such as from New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina and Orlando after the Pulse Nightclub shooting. The show has been recognized with nominations and awards for television news segments since 2006. For this analysis, only the first one-hour of the broadcast was included for analysis to provide a similarity in the sample.

American news organizations were accessed through the online Internet archive (<https://archive.org/>). The Internet archive is a “non-profit library of millions of free books, movies, software, music, websites, and more”. The archive contained each broadcast selected for analysis and were viewed via online streaming between June and December, 2017.

International News Data Sets. Data sets were also collected from the following international networks: Sky News, Al Jazeera, and RT (formerly Russia Today) to examine variances in framing between American and International news coverage. These outlets were chosen for selection as they represent a wide variety of operational, financial and ideological affiliations as well as belong to a range of media systems. The three

networks selected were selected as they their coverage has global significance in terms of audience size, ideological differences, and financial support. International news was much more difficult to gain access to and presented the most challenging portion of data collection.

Sky News is a 24-hour news organization based in the United Kingdom. It is owned and operated by British Sky Broadcasting (also known as BSkyB), and has been broadcasting since 1989. Sky News is the United Kingdom's first 24-hour news network. Between 2012 and 2014, Sky News reached between 14.5 and 18.8 million viewers each quarter. Although several news segments are broadcast throughout the day, the 60-minute broadcast airing at 7 p.m. was used for analysis. This broadcast was selected as it is the network's flagship evening broadcast, similar to the other networks included for analysis. Sky News is regulated by the United Kingdom and the Office of Communications (commonly known as Ofcom). Similar to American broadcast standards, Ofcom states "news, in whatever form, must be reported with due accuracy and presented with due impartiality" (Ofcom, 2017, p. 3). Gaining access to Sky News archives could only be done through the purchase of each broadcast. For all broadcasts required for this study, Sky News charged £450 (\$591.17). Sky News archivists uploaded all broadcasts to the file sharing website Dropbox for coders to access in June, 2017.

The Al Jazeera Media Network, which translates to "The Island", is a state-owned news organization based in Doha, Qatar (Toumi, 2011; Powers, 2009). Al Jazeera gained global prominence during the war in Afghanistan as the network was the only channel to cover the war as it was developing (Whitaker, 2003). Al Jazeera has been accused of

broadcasting propaganda for the Qatari government, although the network claims they are editorially independent (Kessler, 2012). Al Jazeera is also known for airing videos released by Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the September 11th attacks (Telhami, 2013). In 2017, multiple governments demanded Al Jazeera be shut down, but the network is currently still in operation (Thapar, 2017). Similar to other networks included in this study, Al Jazeera broadcasts several news programs throughout the day. The 7 p.m., 60-minute news bulletin, in English, was selected for analysis as it most closely resembles the other broadcasts selected for inclusion.

Gaining access to Al Jazeera archives proved to be the most difficult of all the networks. Al Jazeera does not provide access to content online, other than clips and compilations of broadcasts on their YouTube site, which was not adequate for this study. Securing access to the required footage took more than a year. The researcher contacted a total of 11 Al Jazeera Media Network employees. These contacts were located in offices located in London, the Balkans and the headquarters in Doha, Qatar. The first point of contact was the Al Jazeera Center for Studies. The Center explained that previously Al Jazeera had an open source attitude regarding archives but that decision had been recently rescinded. No reason was provided. For several additional months, numerous individuals were contacted who echoed the sentiments that the archive was no longer accessible for academic research. In December of 2017, the EP of Quality Assurance Editorial Standards and Quality Director at the Al Jazeera Media Network requested the footage needed from the archive department. The Al Jazeera archives provided approximately half of the requested broadcasts. The broadcasts were made

accessible to coders via links to the Al Jazeera Media archive for viewing purposes.

Broadcasts were then removed and the researcher no longer has access.

RT Television Network, formerly known as Russia Today, is an international television network based in Moscow and is described as a network that gives a “Russian viewpoint on major global events” (RT International, 2017). RT is funded by the Russian government (Fisher, 2013) and broadcasts in English, Arabic and Spanish. Similar to Al Jazeera, RT has been accused of being a platform to broadcast propaganda for the Russian government (Loffe, 2010) and has been accused of broadcasting content deemed “misleading” (Plunkett, 2014). RT airs 30-minute news bulletins every hour. The 7:00 - 7:30 p.m. broadcast was included in this analysis to provide similarity with the other evening shows. Russia Today provides full broadcasts of their shows on their website (<https://www.rt.com/bulletin-board/news/>) for one year. Coders accessed all required footage directly through the RT website.

Selection of Terror Attacks. The sample for this study consists of 6 acts of terror. Three of these events are classified as leader-led and three are considered Lone Wolf terrorism. These events were selected based on the number of victims killed or injured in the attack, and the amount of media coverage devoted to each of these attacks. The time period selected for this study was November, 2015 to December, 2016. For each news channel, 5 days of news coverage was included. This started the day the act of terror occurred and the four days after. This was selected to examine how the framing of acts of terror changes over time.

Leader-Led Acts

Location: Paris, France

Date range for analysis: November 13 - 17, 2015

The event in Paris was a series of coordinated attacks that the Islamic State has claimed responsibility for. On Friday, November 13th, individuals associated with this Islamic State carried out bombings and shootings at numerous locations in Paris and neighboring areas. These included: two bombings outside the Stade de France, shootings at the Le Carillon bar, Le Petit Cambodge restaurant, Cafe Bonne Biere and La Casa Nostra pizzeria, La Belle Equipe bar, Le Comptoir Voltaire on the Boulevard Voltaire and the Bataclan concert Hall. In all, 137 civilians and 7 perpetrators were killed, and an additional 368 were injured.

The individuals who carried out these attacks were linked to the Islamic State, with many of them having fought alongside the group in Iraq and Syria. “Western intelligence agencies believe the top leadership of ISIS signed off on the Paris plot” (Cruickshank, 2016).

Location: Brussels, Belgium

Date range for analysis: March 22 – March 26, 2016

In the morning hours of March 22, three separate suicide bombings took place. Two were at the Brussels Airport and the third occurred at the Maalbeek metro station. The perpetrators were part of the terrorist cell that conducted the 2015 Paris attacks and the attack occurred shortly after police had begun raiding the cell. 32 civilians were killed in the attacks and an additional 300 were injured.

Location: Turkey

Date range for analysis: June 28 – July 2, 2016

On June 28th, 2016, three militants with guns and bombs entered the Ataturk airport in Istanbul, Turkey. The three men coordinated attacks with both guns and bombs in the International terminal. There were 45 civilians and three attackers killed and another 230 people were injured. Turkish authorities' claim the militants were acting on orders from the Islamic State and had come to Turkey from Islamic State controlled Syria.

Lone Wolf Acts

Location: Orlando

Date range for analysis: June 12 – 16, 2016

On June 12th, 2016, Omar Mateen entered the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida. Mateen entered the club and shot and killed 49 people and injured 53 others. This shooting was the deadliest attack on American soil since September 11th. The FBI has found no direct connection between Mateen and the Islamic State, but Mateen did make a call to authorities during the shooting and stated the attack was in retaliation to the death of an Islamic State militant.

Location: Nice

Date range for analysis: July 14 - 18, 2016

Following the end of a firework show commemorating Bastille Day, a truck sped through a group of bystanders. Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel from Tunisia was behind the attacks that killed 86 people and injured 434 more. Reports have indicated the attack was inspired by the Islamic State and may have been a form of retribution for increased French military strikes against the group.

Location: Germany

Date range for analysis: July 19 - 24, 2016

On July 19th, a man attacked several people on a train with an ax and a knife. Following the attack, police located a hand-drawn flag resembling the one used by ISIS in the attacker's room. Authorities have said the attacker was not working under direct supervision of any organization and acted on his own.

Training and reliability

Two coders, the author and one undergraduate student at Arizona State University, coded all visual content for this study. The second coder was paid a stipend of \$500 that was provided by a grant from the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication. After the codebook was developed, the author and the second coder met to discuss the operationalization of each item in the coding scheme. Initial coding was done by hand and all code sheets were organized by network and attack for future reference. After the initial meeting, both individuals coded a 10% sample of the data. This is recommended in content analysis methodology to ensure inter-coder reliability. Krippendorff's alpha was calculated and resulted in a coefficient of .88 for dominant images and .91 for first images. When using Krippendorff's alpha, a coefficient of .80 is considered acceptable for inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff, 2012).

After inter-coder reliability was established, the data set was divided and each coder analyzed 50% percent of the content. The author coded all International news and the second coder was responsible for all American news broadcasts. As suggested by Nuendorf (2002), at the conclusion of coding, another 10% sample was analyzed for inter-coder reliability. Krippendorff's alpha was calculated and resulted in a coefficient of .89 for dominant images and .91 for first images.

Coding

After all content was coded, the coding categories were condensed in two stages to better understand the data. As illustrated in Appendix A, the original coding scheme contained 30 categories. These were condensed based on similarity or themes for a total of 10 categories.

Table 1: Collapsed Coding Categories

New Coding Categories	Original Categories
Geography	City scene in location of attack Map of location where attack occurred Map of Islamic State controlled territory in Iraq/Syria Map of entire Middle East
Attack	Police equipment or ordinance First responders immediately following attack Attack as it took place People fleeing attack site Amateur video during or immediately following attack Text describing the attack
Political	U.S. police official(s) U.S. government official(s) Public official from location of attack International police official(s)
Victim	Victims at time of during attack Victims immediately following attack Personal photos of victims before attack Survivors
Attacker	Attacker (personal photos) Attacker (police photos) Home of the attacker Family/Friends of attacker
Tribute	Memorials/ Tributes (flowers, signs etc) Community Support (blood donation, prayer services, etc) Mourners
Islamic State	Islamic State soldiers

	Islamic State leaders
Other	Other attack-related image
Non-Attack Related	Image is not related to the attack

Tabulation and Reporting

Once coding of all data was complete, tabulation and reporting could be conducted. SPSS, a software package used for statistical analysis was used. Data was extracted from the paper coding sheets and entered into the program. Important elements such as: network, attack, day, order of story in the broadcast, and coding categories were assigned numerical values for analysis.

Table 2 identifies the hypotheses used in this study, the variables for each hypothesis and the statistical test that was run. Crosstabs was selected as the primary statistical test because as Janda (2017) explains “Crosstabs is an SPSS procedure that cross-tabulates two variables, thus displaying their relationship in tabular form. In contrast to frequencies, which summarizes information about one variable, Crosstabs generates information about *bivariate* relationships” (para. 1)

Table 2: Tabulation and Reporting of Data

	Hypothesis	Variables	Sample	Test
1	There will be no differences in the visual frame of acts of terror perpetuated by lone wolves in American television news broadcasts.	IV: American News Networks (CBS, PBS, CNN) DV: Visual Frame	Lone Wolf Attacks (Orlando, Nice, Germany)	Chi Square
2	There will be no differences in the visual frame of acts of terror perpetuated by the Islamic State in American television news broadcasts.	IV: American News Networks (CBS, PBS, CNN) DV: Visual Frame	Islamic State Attacks (Paris, Brussels, Turkey)	Chi Square
3	There will be no differences in the visual frame of acts of terror perpetuated by lone wolves in International television news broadcasts.	IV: International News Network (RT, SKY, AJ) DV: Visual Frame	Lone Wolf Attacks (Orlando, Nice, Germany)	Chi Square
4	There will be no differences in the visual frame of acts of terror perpetuated by the Islamic State in International television news broadcasts.	IV: International News Network (RT, SKY, AJ) DV: Visual Frame	Islamic State Attacks (Paris, Brussels, Turkey)	Chi Square
5	There will no differences in global news based on the classification of the attacker.	IV: American (CBS, PBS, CNN) and International (RT, SKY, AJ) News Network DV: Visual Frame	Lone Wolf Attacks (Orlando, Nice, Germany)	Chi Square

Findings will be discussed in the next chapter

Verbal Framing

This study also examined how global news broadcasts framed acts of terror verbally. Entman (1993) states “writers of messages frame events based on word choice, placement of information (such as at the beginning of a newscast), and meaning assigned to events by audience members” (in Elmasry et. al, 2013). Iyengar (1991) adds “most people encounter the world of public affairs through the language of television” (p. 61). To examine the verbal framing of events, centering resonance analysis was utilized.

Centering Resonance Analysis. Although there are several ways to analyze the verbal framing of news events, Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) was selected for this study for multiple reasons. First, CRA is “a flexible means of representing the content of large sets of messages, and assisting in their analysis” (Corman et al., 2002, p. 159). In addition, CRA has been used as an established method when studying verbal framing of acts of terrorism (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008; Brinson & Stohl, 2009).

“CRA is a mode of computer-assisted network-based text analysis that represents the content of large sets of texts by identifying words that link other words in the network” (Corman & Dooley; 2006; Corman et al., 2002 as cited in Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008). Brinson & Stohl (2009) add “whereas other content analysis methods equate word frequency with word importance, CRA is based on linguistic theory concerning how people create coherence in their communication” (p. 233).

Corman et. al (2002) the theorists who developed CRA explain:

“CRA uses linguistic analysis to identify important words in utterances and to link these into a network. Important words are those making up noun phrases, which are potential centers in the utterance. Accumulating these words and their links over a set of utterances making up a text (or segment of conversation) yields a

network that represents the aggregate of intentional acts by the author or speaker to deploy words and connect them to other words. Some words in this network are especially influential due to their location in the structure, tying together many other words and helping organize the whole. Thus, by analyzing the CRA network structure, we can index the structural importance of words without reference to other texts” (p. 173).

When analyzing texts, CRA uses a process known as “indexing”. As Corman et. al (2002) states when indexing “ the network of word associations is analyzed to determine the relative influence of each node. CRA analysis focuses on the concept of influence, and how certain words within a text are more influential than others. To operationalize this, Corman et. al (2002) use betweenness centrality. “Betweenness centrality best represents the extent to which a particular centering word (represented by a network node) mediates chains of association in the CRA network” (p. 177). To reiterate, “words with a high betweenness, and thus influence, add coherence to the text by connecting strings of words that otherwise would not be connected (Corman & Dooley, 2002, p. 123). The importance with understanding betweenness in a network is that by using CRA, “the results of aggregating the possible centers or nodes (the most influential words) in a message denote the author’s intentional acts regarding word choice and message meaning” (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008, p. 60).

The first step in conducting CRA was to transcribe each of the news broadcasts in the data set. When transcribing, only stories that mentioned the attack being analyzed were included in the analysis. Data sets were collected from the following American news networks: PBS, NBC and CNN and the following international networks: Sky News, Al Jazeera, and RT (formerly Russia Today). Transcriptions of broadcasts for the American news networks were available through the online Internet archive

(<https://archive.org/>). Transcripts were downloaded from the internet archive and saved as .txt files for analysis. Transcriptions of international broadcasts had to be done manually. Video files were sent to the company, GMR transcription, and all files were transcribed. Transcription services cost approximately \$1,500 and were funded through a grant from the California State University Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program. All international news transcriptions were also saved as .txt files for analysis.

The CRA analysis took place in four stages, similar to the approach of Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008). First, an analysis of each network's coverage of each attack was conducted, second a comparison of each network's coverage of the Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, and lastly a comparison of American and International news coverage of the different attack types.

Chapter Summary

This chapter described the social scientific methodological approach used to examine the research questions and hypothesis in this study. A discussion of foundations, communication theory and the social scientific paradigm were provided. A quantitative content analysis process culminated in a selected global data set including three American (CBS, PBS and CNN) and three International (RT, Sky News and Al Jazeera) news channels. Six terrorist attacks were selected including three Lone Wolf (Orlando, Nice and Germany) and three Islamic State (Paris, Brussels and Turkey). A coding scheme was developed to analyze the visual framing of global news coverage and a discussion of Centering Resonance Analysis was provided to examine the verbal framing of acts of terror

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

“Framing involves selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation”

-Entman (1993)

This chapter presents findings regarding American and International news coverage of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf and the Islamic State as they relate to the research questions and hypotheses of this study. This chapter analyzes each research question and hypotheses in the following order: 1) American News coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks; 2) International news coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks; and lastly 3) a comparison of global news coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks.

Research Question 1. The first research question asked: in what ways do American television news broadcasts frame acts of terror? As Entman (1993) explains, “the essence of framing is sizing - magnifying or shrinking elements of the depicted reality to make them more or less salient. The first, and in some ways most critical sizing choice involves the overall salience of the event in the flow of the news” (p. 9). To understand, in part, how American news networks frame acts of terror perpetrated by lone wolves is to examine the salience, as “how much material on the event is available, and how prominently it is displayed” contributes to the framing and understood importance of the event (Entman, 1993, p. 9).

The three American television news networks contained 155 total stories covering lone wolf attacks. Across all three networks, the attack in Orlando had the greatest

amount of coverage (Table 3) with CNN containing the most stories (n = 36), followed by CBS (n = 32) and PBS (n= 29).

Table 3
Total Stories in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	N = 155		
	CBS	PBS	CNN
	n	n	n
Orlando	32	29	36
Nice	9	3	11
Berlin	6	5	24
Totals	47	37	71

For the coverage in Orlando, each of the networks used a combination of story types and had coverage from the studio as well as live reports from the location of the attack. The attacks in Nice and Germany were given less coverage across the three networks. CNN (n = 23) contained the most coverage for Nice, followed by CBS (n = 9). PBS (n = 3) contained a minimal amount of coverage. The attacks in Germany also garnered less media coverage than Orlando. CNN (n= 24) provided the most coverage of the attack, while CBS (n = 6) and PBS (n = 5) contained far fewer stories. Based on Entman's (1993) explanation of salience, the increased coverage of the Orlando attack indicates it was framed as being of greater importance than the attacks in Nice and Germany.

The three American television news networks contained 208 total stories covering Islamic State attacks. Across all three networks, the attack in Paris had the greatest amount of coverage (Table 4) with PBS containing the most stories (n = 39), followed by CBS (n = 37) and CNN (n= 32).

Table 4
Total Stories in American News - Islamic State Attacks

	N=208		
	CBS	PBS	CNN
	n	n	n
Paris	37	39	32
Brussels	19	13	21
Turkey	8	7	32
Totals	64	59	85

Coverage of the Paris attacks contained a combination of story types and had coverage from the studio as well as live reports from the location of the attack. All three networks used content from news organizations (such as BFM-TV) based in Europe. The attacks in Brussels and Turkey were given less coverage across the three networks. CNN (n = 21) contained the most coverage for the Brussels attacks, followed by CBS (n = 13). PBS (n = 13) contained the least amount of content related to the Brussels attacks. The attack in Turkey also garnered less media coverage than Paris or Brussels. CNN (n= 32) devoted substantially more time to the attacks, while CBS (n = 8) and PBS (n = 7) contained far fewer stories.

Research Question 1a. Research question 1a asked: In what ways do American television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf? Within the 155 stories across the three networks, there were a total 121 dominant images, 141 first images, and 2797 secondary images. There are fewer first images than stories as 14 of the total stories were anchor readers, and contained no images and 34 of the stories had no dominant image. To better understand RQ1a, differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf in American television news broadcasts were examined. Findings indicate there was a statistically significant

difference between American news coverage of lone wolf attacks ($\chi^2 = 22.34$, $df = 9$, $p < .05$ for dominant images; $\chi^2 = 27.38$, $df = 16$, $p < .05$ for first images).

First, dominant images, or the image that was on screen for the longest period of time, will be discussed. When examining dominant images, there were several key differences in the use of images in coverage of lone wolf attacks in American news networks. First, the way the “attacker” was covered varied across networks. PBS used this type of image most frequently with 21.4% of dominant images, while CNN only used a dominant image of the “attacker” once in the coverage of all three Lone Wolf attacks. CBS fell in the middle with 9.5% of total dominant images being classified as the “attacker”. Examples of dominant images coded as “attacker” may have included personal or police images of the assailant, the location the attacker lived in, or interviews with friends or family members.

Another distinct difference was the network’s use of “geography” as a dominant image. Examples of dominant images coded as “geography” include maps of the location where the attack took place, maps of Islamic State controlled territory or maps of the Middle East. CNN’s coverage of lone wolf attacks contained the greatest amount of 15.4%, CBS contained 2.4%, and PBS contained none.

Although statistically different, it is important to note that within American news coverage of Lone Wolf attacks, there were also some similarities. Political images dominated across all three networks and ranged from 21.5 to 57.1 percent of total dominant images. Images coded as political included American and International government or police officials.

Table 5
Dominant Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	Dominant Images in 2011					
	CBS		PBS		CNN	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	2.4	1	0	0	15.4	10
Attack	11.9	5	0	0	40	26
Political	31	13	57.1	8	21.5	14
Victim	9.5	4	0	0	4.6	3
Attacker	11.9	5	21.4	3	1.5	1
Tribute	4.8	2	7.1	1	3.1	2
Islamic State	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	16.7	7	14.3	2	13.8	9
Non-Attack	11.9	5	0	0	0	0
Totals	100	42	100	14	100	65

All three American broadcasts also had similarities in how images coded as “victim” were utilized. CBS, PBS and CNN all contained less than ten percent of dominant images coded as “victim” or “tribute”. Dominant images coded as “victim” or “tribute” focused on those injured or killed in the attacks, survivors, and memorials or services following the attack. In addition, none of the networks used a dominant image related to the Islamic State when covering lone wolf attacks.

When covering Lone Wolf attacks, CBS’s employed politics most frequently for the dominant image (36.1%), followed by the attack itself (11.9 %) and the attacker (11.9%). CBS was the only network to have dominant images in each of the coding categories, showing the range of the type of coverage the network aired.

PBS used images in a narrower way. Political images were used in more than half of the coverage (57.1%), followed by the attacker (21.4 %). PBS coverage did not contain any dominant images in the geography, attack, victim or Islamic State categories.

CNN's coverage was distinct in that 40% of the dominant images used were classified as "attack". Images coded as "attack" included amateur or surveillance footage during or immediately following the attack, police and medical responses or those fleeing from the attack site. CNN also used politics in more than a fifth of its dominant images (21.5%), followed by geography (15.4%).

American television news broadcasts also had distinct differences in regards to the first image used when covering lone wolf attacks. CBS used a political frame most frequently for the first image (19.6%), followed by the attack itself (17.4 %) and the attacker (15.2%). Similar to CBS's use of the dominant image, the broadcasts contained first images from each of the coding categories except the Islamic State.

PBS also utilized politics most frequently for first images with one-third of stories on the attacks beginning with a political image (33.3%). Unlike the network's use of dominant images, PBS had a wide variety of first images. This included: geography (12.5%) attacker (12.5 %), and tribute (12.5%).

CNN used images related to the attack (32.4%) most often as the first image and more than twice as much as CBS (17.4%) or PBS (8.3%).

Table 6
First Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	First Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks					
	First Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks					
	First Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks					
	CBS		PBS		CNN	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	4.3	2	12.5	3	16.9	12
Attack	17.4	8	8.3	2	32.4	23
Political	19.6	9	33.3	8	18.3	13
Victim	13	6	4.2	1	7	5
Attacker	15.2	7	12.5	3	8.5	6
Tribute	6.5	3	12.5	3	1.4	1
Islamic State	4.3	2	4.2	1	0	0
Other	10.9	5	12.5	3	14.1	10
Non-Attack	8.7	4	0	0	1.4	1
Totals	100	46	100	24	100	71

All images that were not coded as dominant (on screen the longest) or first (image that first appeared) were coded as secondary images. Secondary images also contribute to the framing of events. American news networks contained a total of 3,030 secondary images, 2797 of which were attack-related. Images that were not related to the attack were not used for analysis.

As can be seen in Table 5, all three networks devoted the greatest coverage to the attacks in Orlando, Florida. One area of distinction is the amount of coverage of the attacks in Nice and Berlin. CNN contained the most secondary images (308) for Nice while PBS contained the fewest (26). There were similar results for the coverage of Berlin, with CNN providing the most secondary images (380) and CBS the fewest (104).

Table 7
Secondary Images in American News - Lone Wolf Attacks

N= 2797

	Orlando	Nice	Berlin	Totals
CBS	432	118	104	654
PBS	539	26	118	683
CNN	772	308	380	1460
				<hr/> 2797

Research Question 1b. Research question 1b asked: In what ways do American television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf? To examine this, Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) was used to analyze the transcripts of each broadcast. Broadcasts were analyzed first by each network’s coverage of the three lone wolf attacks individually, followed by an analysis of the coverage of each type of attack (Islamic State or lone wolf) by each network. For example, the transcripts of each American news network’s coverage of all lone wolf attacks were analyzed together to identify verbal coverage of this type of attack.

Transcripts were analyzed by their “betweenness”, denoted by the color of the node. The darker the color represented in the map, the higher the betweenness for the word. To reiterate, the “betweenness centrality best represents the extent to which a particular centering word (represented by a network node) mediates chains of association in the CRA network” (Corman, & Dooley, 2002, p. 177). “Words with a high betweenness, and thus influence, add coherence to the text by connecting strings of words that otherwise would not be connected (Corman & Dooley, 2002, p. 123). The importance with understanding betweenness in a network is that by using CRA, “the results of aggregating the possible centers or nodes (the most influential words) in a

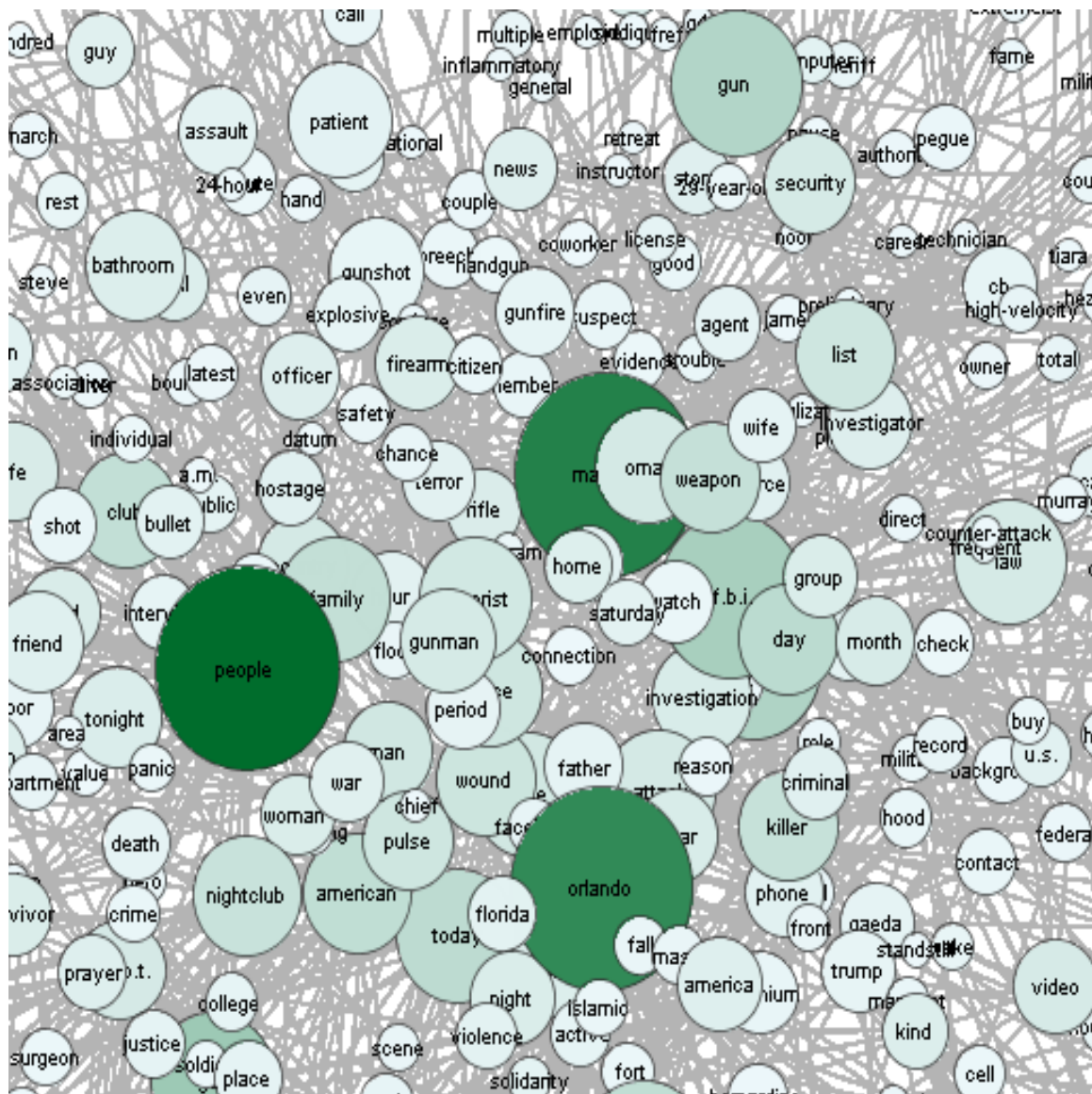
message denote the author's intentional acts regarding word choice and message meaning" (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008, p. 60).

In addition, transcripts were analyzed for word frequency, indicated by size on the map. The larger the node, the more frequently the word was used. Through examining the CRA results, several similarities and differences emerged.

CBS. The CRA map of CBS's coverage of the attacks in Orlando highlighted several themes that were present. First, the most influential words were: *Mateen, people, and Orlando*. In addition, influential words focusing on the attack – *bathroom, panic, nightclub, and Pulse* – were highlighted. This reiterates CBS choice of language when covering lone wolf attacks focused on the specifics of the attack itself.

When analyzing the map, there were several thematic clusters that emerged. First, the CBS map had several words related to the style of attack – *gun, gunshot, high-velocity, handgun, gunfire, rifle, and bullet*. Another area of interest was the choice of descriptive words when discussing the attacker. Words such as *gunman, terrorist, killer, suspect* and *criminal* were used within the coverage. An additional theme present was the focus on the victims with words like *prayer, patient, solidarity* and *justice*. One final theme that emerged was a choice of language - *Fort Hood, al Qaeda, Islamic* and *military* - that connected this attack to other similar attacks and broader military and political implications. Great! What does this mean???? Put the findings in context.

Map 1: CRA map of CBS transcripts - Orlando

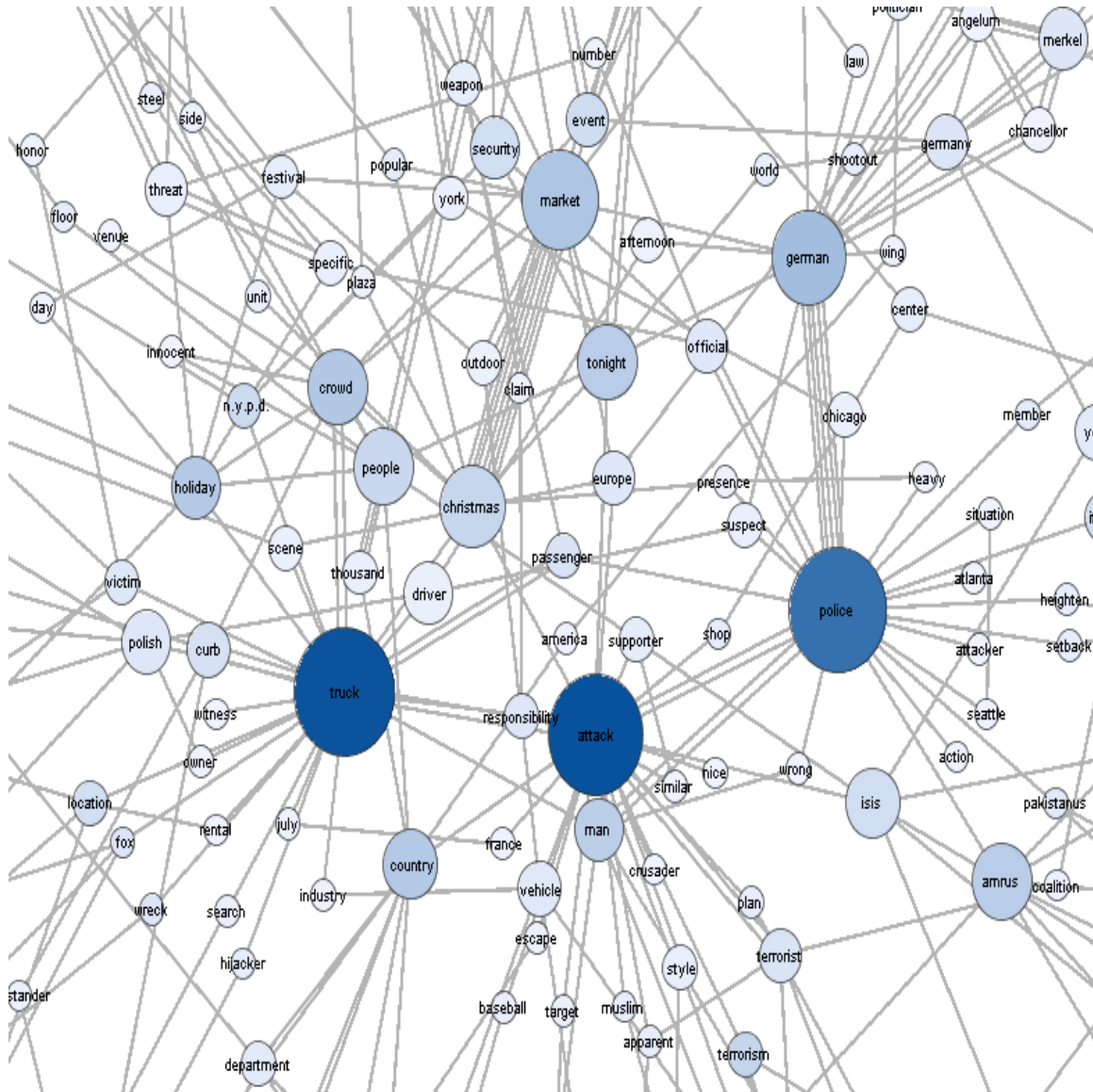


Similarly, the CRA map CBS's coverage of the attack in Nice also focused on the attack itself. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *truck*, *people*, *attack* and *France* demonstrating a focus on description of the attack itself.

It was observed that there is also a political theme within the map, with words such as: *minister*, *ministry*, *interior*, and *prime* connecting the attack to the governmental

The word connections between *Christmas* and *market*, and *German* and *police* were strong, identifying how the attack itself was described.

Map 3: CRA map of CBS transcripts – Germany



Similar to the other lone wolf attacks, CBS used the terms *terrorist* and *terrorism*, but an additional theme emerged. CBS also used the words *Muslim*, *man*, and *crusader*

when describing the attacker. The map also indicates the network connected this attack to similar attacks through the use of the words *July* and *truck*, referencing the attack that took place in Nice.

When analyzing coverage of all lone wolf attacks, CBS' map presented a large number of influential words where several themes emerged. First, the words with the most influence in the map were focused on the attacks themselves, or the individual behind the attack and included – *people*, *attack*, *police*, *truck*, and *Mateen*.

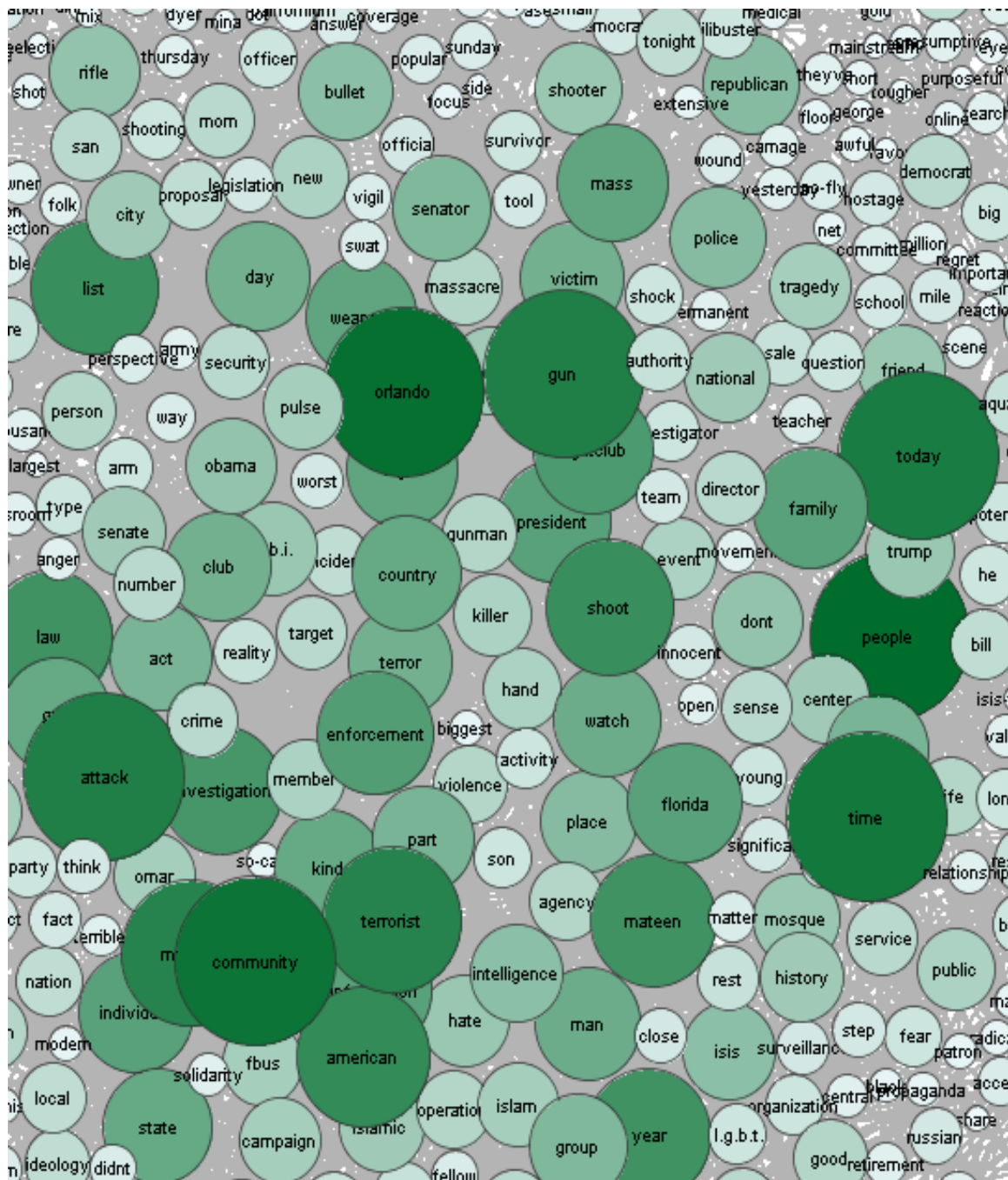
terms such as *gay*, *support*, and *L.G.B.T.* This theme was associated with the attacks in Orlando as Pulse was a gay nightclub and identified an additional way the event was framed.

PBS. The CRA map of PBS's coverage of the attacks in Orlando demonstrated there was a large number of words that were highly influential. The words with the most influence in the coverage were: *Orlando*, *people*, *community*, *time* and *attack*.

There were also several themes that emerged. First, the use of the terms *terror* and *terrorist* appeared frequently, but the terms *hate* and *crime* were also used when describing the attack. The term *ISIS* was also influential. In addition, the terms *Muslim*, *Islam* and *Islamic* were emergent, indicating the choice of language when covering attacker focused on ethnic and religious elements.

A political theme was also present in the PBS map with words such as *President*, *Obama*, *Republican*, *proposal*, *campaign* and *legislation*. PBS utilized in-depth interviews throughout the coverage of the Orlando attacks and examined the 2016 Presidential candidate's response to the shooting and legislation on gun laws.

Map 5: CRA map of PBS transcripts – Orlando

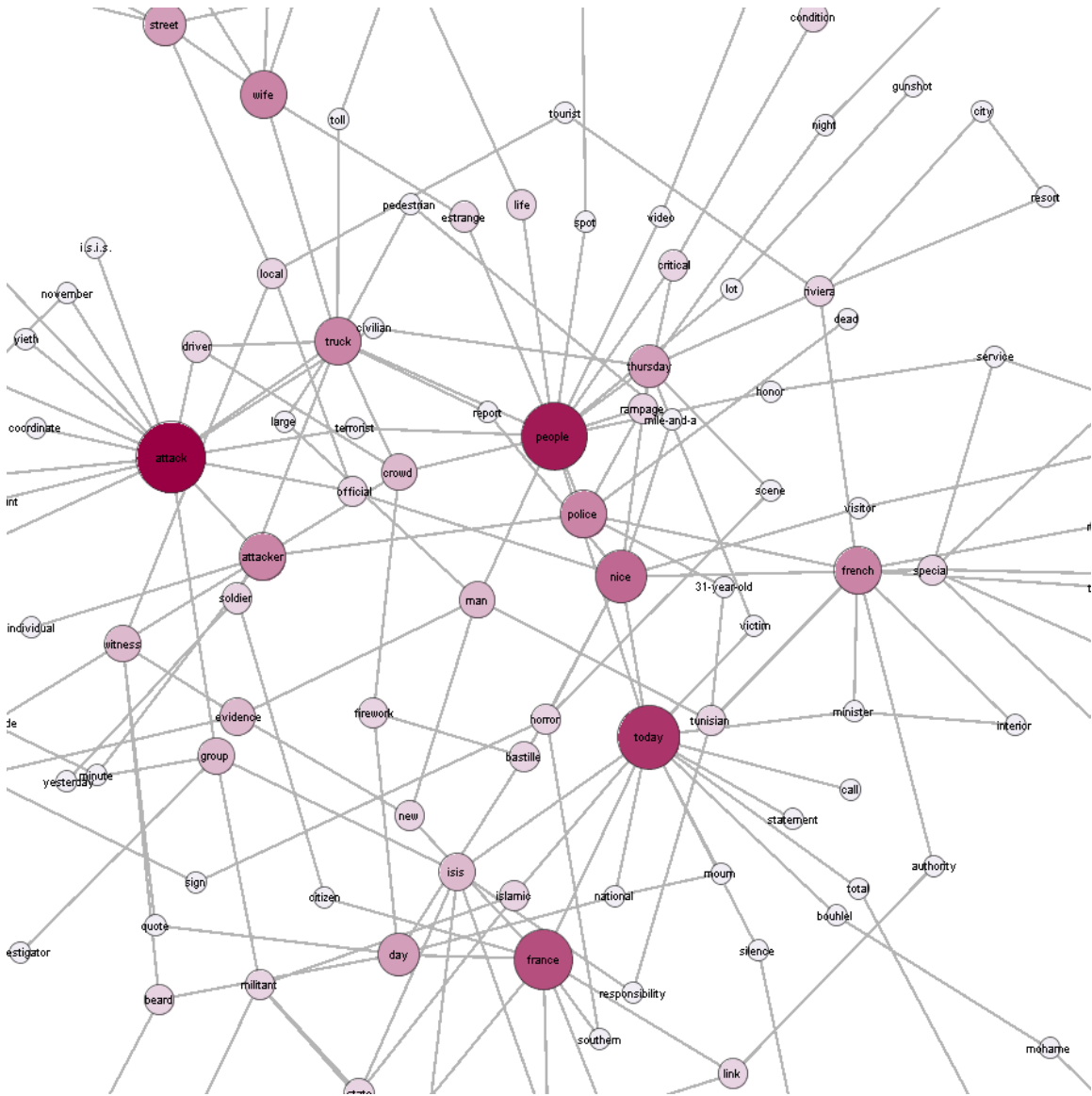


The CRA map PBS's coverage of the attack in Nice was the least dense of all the maps analyzed. This is indicative of the network broadcasting very little coverage of the event. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *today, people, attack* and

France indicating PBS coverage centered on providing the basic details of the attack itself.

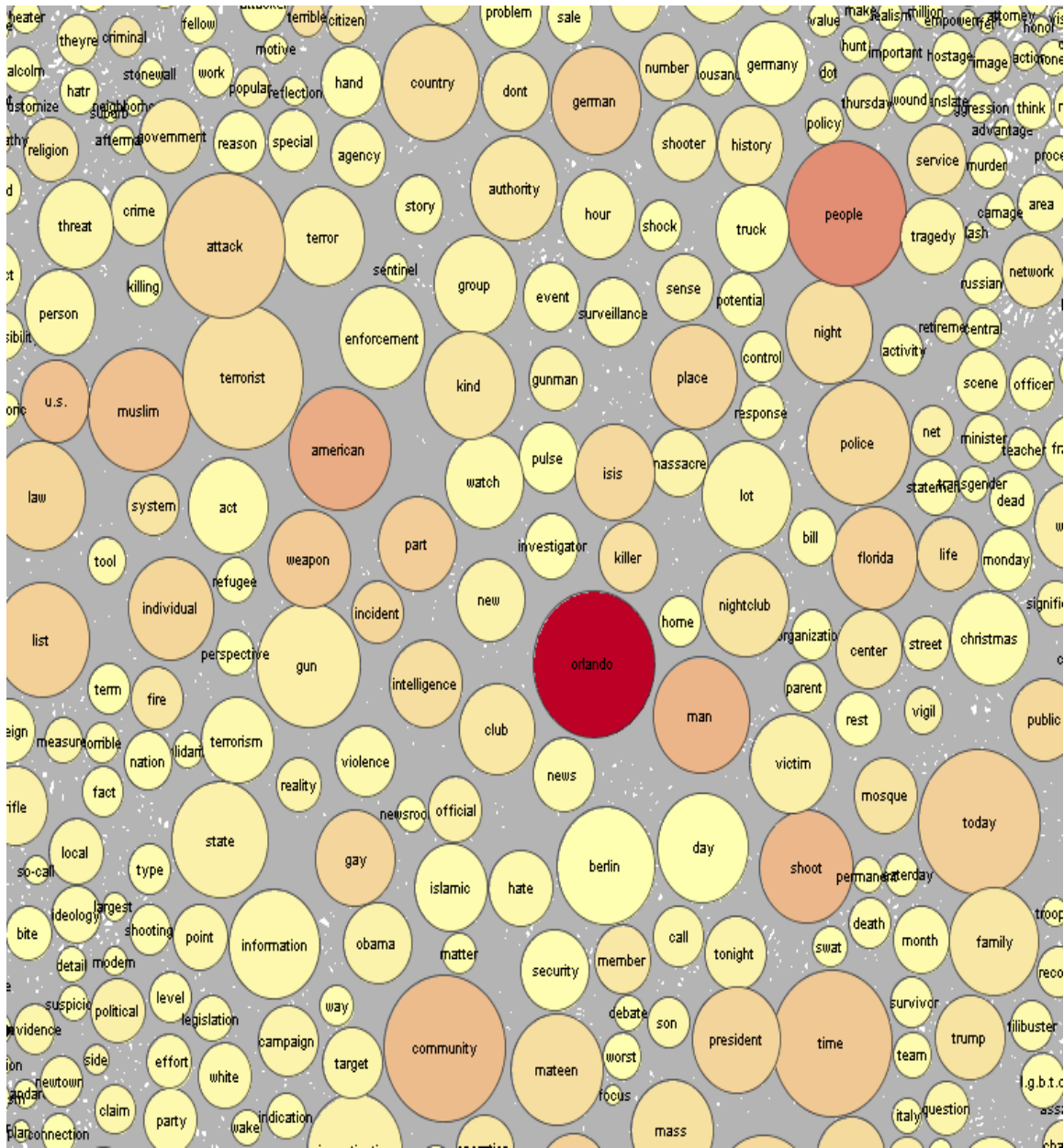
One theme that emerged in the PBS coverage was the cluster of words focused on the description of the attacker. These included: *Islamic*, *militant*, *ISIS* and *beard*. The terms *terrorist* and *attack* were also linked, indicating the way in which the attack was labeled.

Map 6: CRA map of PBS transcripts – Nice



PBS's coverage of the attack in Germany mirrored the language choices from the other two lone wolf attacks. The most influential words were *Berlin*, *German*, *attack*, and *people*. Similarly to CBS, the connections between *Christmas* and *market*, and *German* and *authority* were strong, identifying how the attack itself was described.

Map 8: CRA map of PBS transcripts – All Lone Wolf



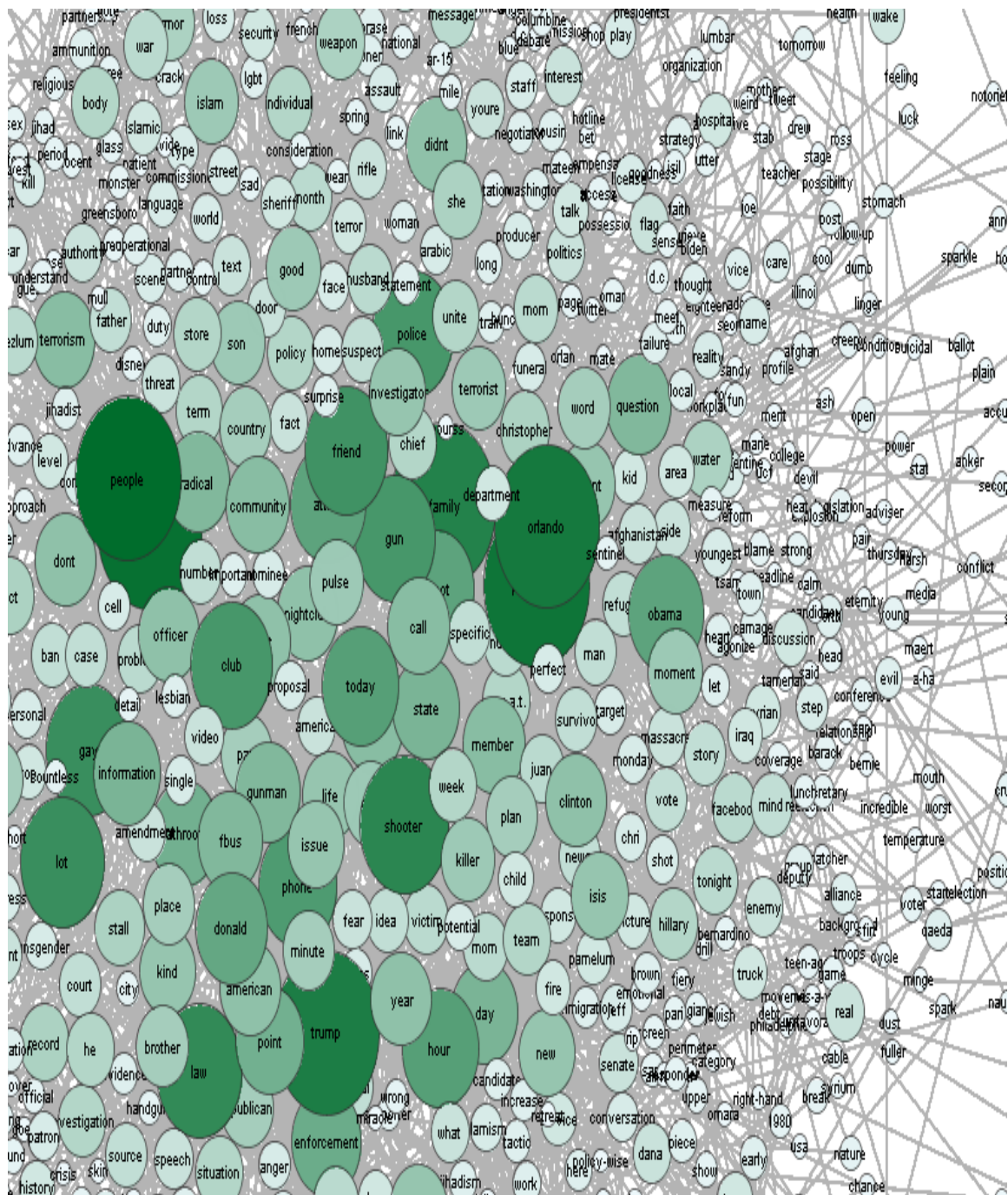
In addition, three key themes emerged from the PBS coverage. First, the network showed the words *terrorist* and *Muslim* were both influential and linked. When covering lone wolf attacks, PBS often used the terms together when describing the attacker. This choice of language frames the attacker not only as a “terrorist” but also as a follower of

the religion of Islam. Second, PBS framed the lone wolf attacks from a political perspective, using language such as *state*, *legislation*, *Obama*, and *President*. One area of distinction in the PBS coverage was that although the network used the term *terror* to describe the attacks, they also used the terms *mass*, *shooting*, *hate* and *crime*. This was significant as this labeling of the event effects the way the attack is framed.

CNN. CNN's coverage of lone wolf attacks produced the densest maps of all the American networks. The Orlando attacks, which were given the most coverage on CNN, provided a range of influential words.

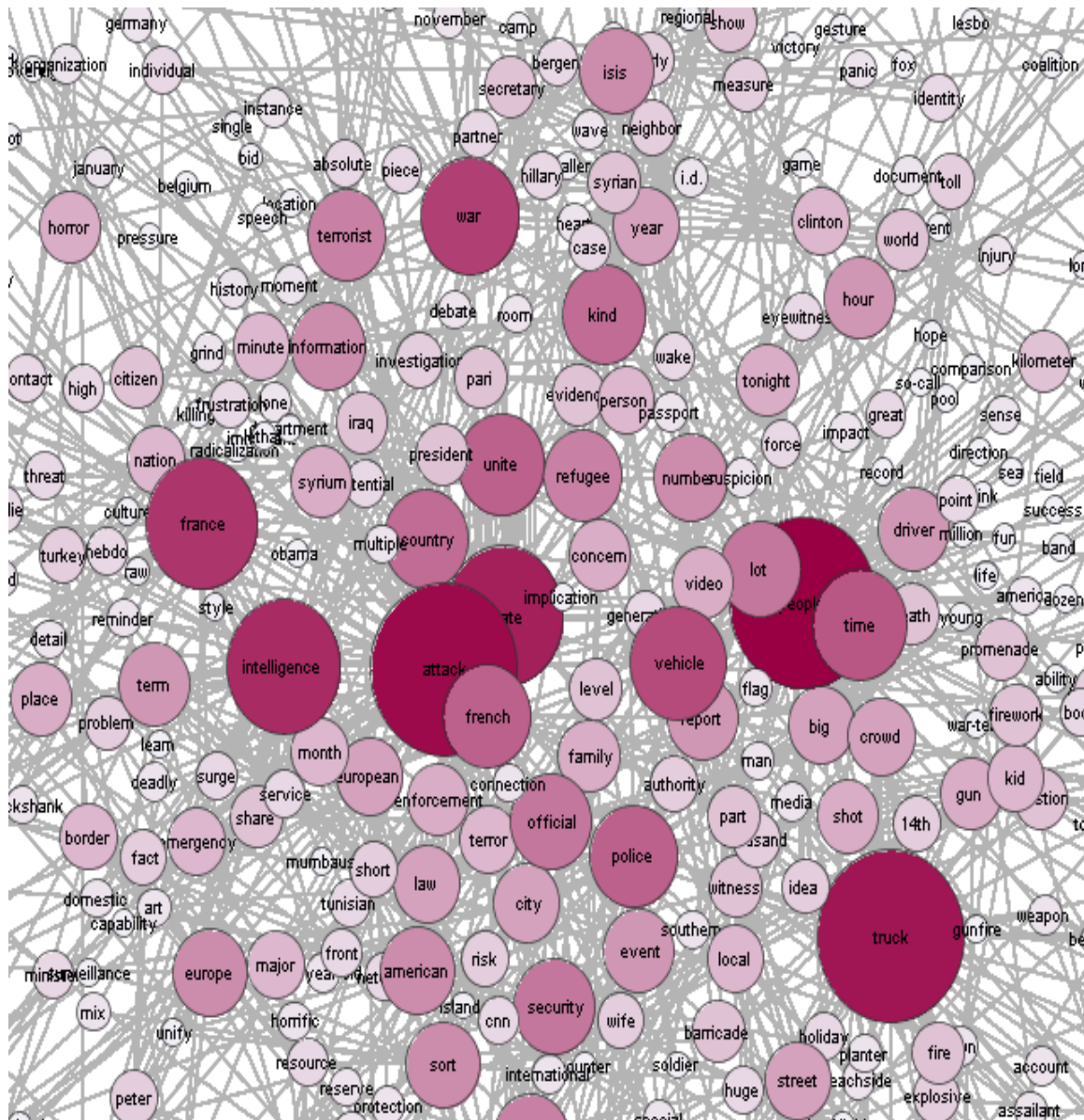
The attack was described in several different ways on CNN –*terror*, *terrorism*, *radical*, *massacre*, *jihadism* – as was the attacker - *terrorist*, *shooter*, *killer* and *suspect*. One emergent theme was the use of language related to describing the weapon used in the attack including: *weapon*, *assault*, *rifle*, *AR-15*. Similar to the coverage of CBS and PBS, there was a strong focus on the discussion of politics – *Donald*, *Trump*, *law*, *Hillary*, and *Clinton* were also thematic. The CNN coverage of Orlando was the most diverse, highlighting the network's focus on examining several aspects of the attack.

Map 9: CRA map of CNN transcripts – Orlando



The CRA map CNN's coverage of the attack in Nice was also very dense.

Map 10: CRA map of CNN transcripts – Nice

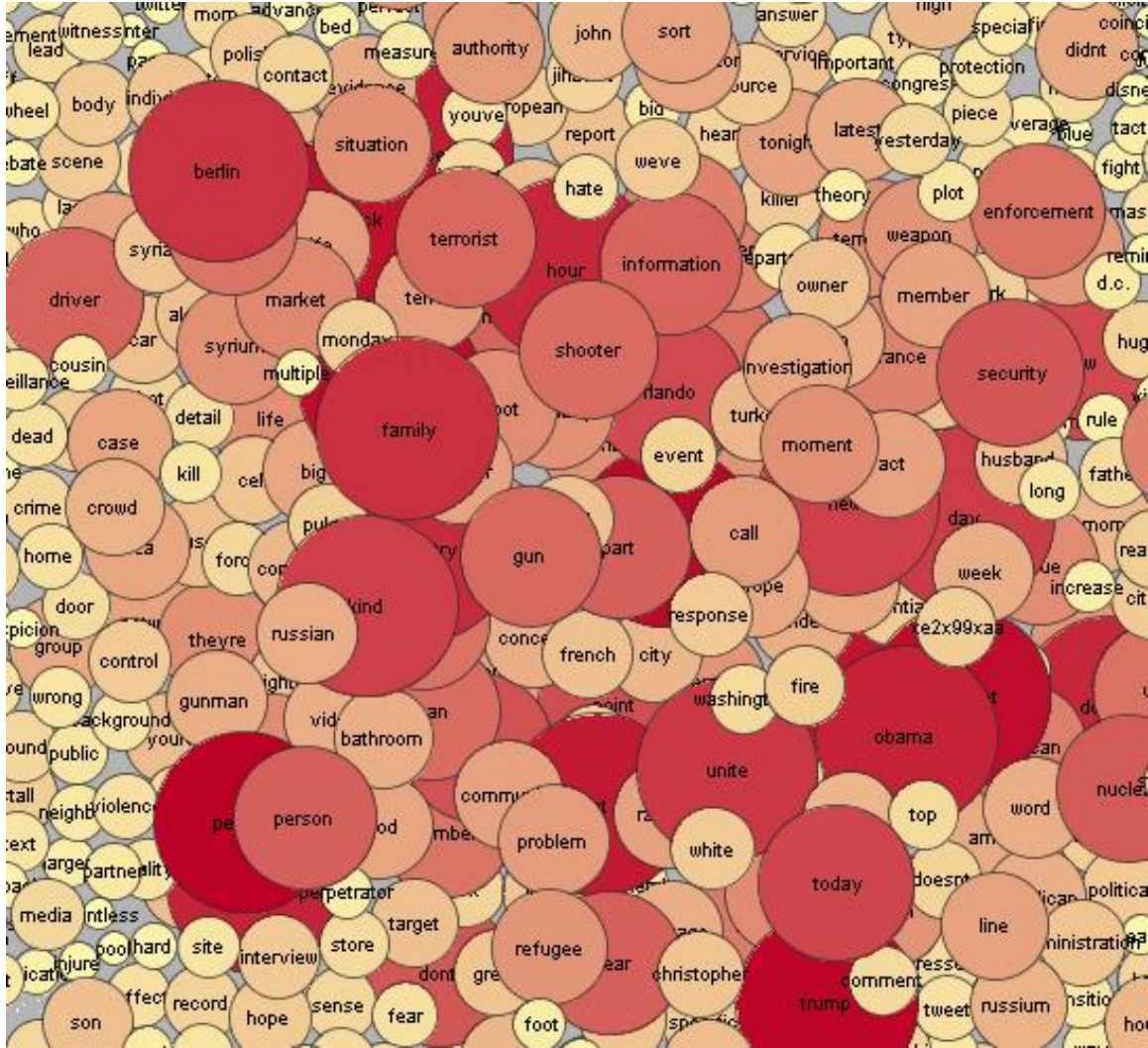


One interesting theme that emerged from this map was the incorporation of content focused on the Middle East – *refugee*, *Syrian*, *wave*, *war* and *camp* all appeared on the

One strong theme in the CNN coverage was the political response. Words such as *President, Obama, Trump, campaign, administration, policy, Putin, election, President-elect* and *U.S* were influential in the coverage. This indicates CNN connected the attack to American policy and International diplomacy. Similar to the other lone wolf attacks, CNN used the terms *terrorist, terrorism, terror* as descriptive terms when covering the attack.

The analysis of CNN's coverage of all lone wolf attacks produced the densest map of this study. The most important element to note is the strong focus on politics. The terms *Trump* and *Obama* were highly influential, indicating that when a terror attack occurs, CNN frames it from a political perspective. Additionally, CNN uses a variety of words when labeling the attacker, such as *terrorist, gunman* and *shooter*.

Map 12: CRA map of CNN transcripts – All Lone Wolf Attacks



Research Question 1c. Research question 1c asked in what ways do American television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

Within the 208 stories across the three networks, there were a total 166 dominant images, 162 first images, and 3486 secondary images. There are fewer first images than stories as 46 of the total stories were anchor readers, and contained no images and 42 of the stories had no dominant image.

When examining dominant images in American news broadcasts of attacks carried out by the Islamic State, there were two key distinctions in how the attacks were covered. First, the use of the “attack” visual varied greatly across networks. CNN employed this visual most frequently with over 50% of the network’s dominant image being related to the attack. In comparison, CBS (24.6%) used images of the attack half as much, while PBS (11.1%) only used a dominant image of the “attack” three times in the coverage of all three Islamic State attacks. Additionally, Chi Square tests indicated there was a statistically significant difference between American news network’s coverage of Islamic State attacks ($\chi^2 = 67.30$, $df = 16$, $p < .05$ for dominant images; $\chi^2 = 51.46$, $df = 16$, $p < .05$ for first images).

Table 8
Dominant Images in American News - Islamic State Attacks

	Dominant Images (N = 166)					
	CBS		PBS		CNN	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	13.1	8	18.5	5	2.6	2
Attack	24.6	15	11.1	3	51.3	40
Political	18	11	51.9	14	9	7
Victim	9.8	6	0	0	3.8	3
Attacker	8.2	5	3.7	1	25.6	20
Tribute	8.2	5	3.7	1	0	0
Islamic State	0	0	3.7	1	1.3	1
Other	13.1	8	3.7	1	6.4	5
Non-Attack	4.9	3	3.7	1	0	0
Totals	100	61	100	27	100	78

Another distinct difference was the network’s use of the “political” visual as a dominant image. PBS’s coverage of Islamic State attacks contained more than 50% of dominant images related to politics while CNN used a politics only 9% of the time. CBS

fell in the middle at 18%, but their use of politics was still more than 30% less than CNN's.

In addition, there was variance amongst the networks in the use of the “attacker” visual. CNN's (25.6%) dominant image included the attacker in more than one quarter of the coverage of Islamic State attacks. CBS (8.2%) used this visual significantly less while PBS (3.7%) used the attacker image only once across all three attacks.

There were some similarities within American news coverage of Islamic State attacks. All three American broadcasts rarely used visuals of the “victim”. CBS, PBS and CNN all contained less than ten percent of dominant images coded as “victim” or “tribute”. In addition, all networks rarely used a dominant image related to the Islamic State when covering attacks carried out by the organization.

American television news broadcasts also had distinct differences in regards to the first image used when covering Islamic State attacks. CBS used the attack frame most frequently for the first image (50%), followed by the victim frame (12.1 %) and the tribute frame (8.6%). CBS's coverage of Islamic State attacks contained first images from each of the coding categories.

PBS used a political image most frequently for first images with one-quarter of stories on the attacks beginning with a political image (25.9%). PBS did not use any first images that related to the victim.

CNN used the attack visual (32.4%) most often as the first image and more than twice as much as CBS (17.4%) or PBS (8.3%). In the coverage of all three Islamic State attacks, CNN did not use a first image related to the Islamic State.

Table 9
First Images in American News - Islamic State Attacks

	First Images in American News - Islamic State Attacks					
	N = 141					
	CBS		PBS		CNN	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	4.3	2	12.5	3	16.9	12
Attack	17.4	8	8.3	2	32.4	23
Political	19.6	9	33.3	8	18.3	13
Victim	13	6	4.2	1	7	5
Attacker	15.2	7	12.5	3	8.5	6
Tribute	6.5	3	12.5	3	1.4	1
Islamic State	4.3	2	4.2	1	0	0
Other	10.9	5	12.5	3	14.1	10
Non-Attack	8.7	4	0	0	1.4	1
Totals	100	46	100	24	100	71

American news networks contained a total of 3,486 secondary images related to the attacks. As with the dominant and first images, findings indicate there was a statistically significant difference between American news network's visual coverage of lone wolf attacks.

As can be seen in Table 10, the three networks devoted the most amount of coverage to the attacks in Paris. The number of secondary images for the attacks in Paris (n = 1603) was almost double the number of images used when covering the Turkey attack (n = 805).

Table 10
Secondary Images in American News - IS Attacks
N = 3486

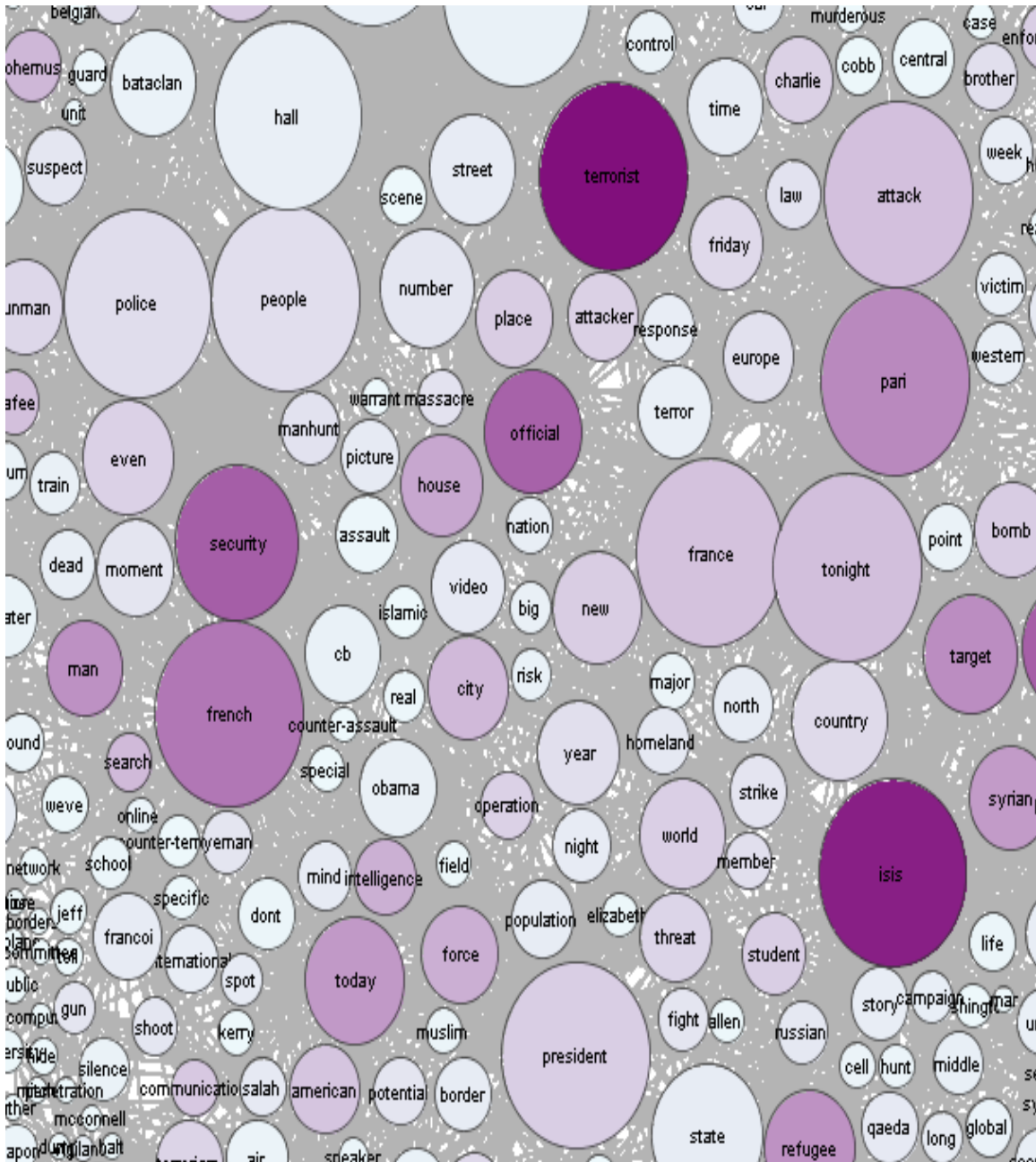
	Paris	Brussels	Turkey	Totals
CBS	459	447	160	1066
PBS	516	255	91	862
CNN	628	376	554	1558
Totals	1603	1078	805	3486

An additional area of distinction was the little coverage CBS and PBS provided for the attacks in Turkey. PBS (n = 91) and CBS (n = 160) coverage of Turkey had substantially fewer images than CNN (n = 554).

Research Question 1d. Research question 1d asked: In what ways do American news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State? Centering Resonance analysis was used to examine first, each network's coverage of the three Islamic State attacks individually, followed by an analysis of all coverage of Islamic State attacks by each network. When examining the maps, the size of the node denotes frequency, and the color of the node exhibits betweenness (or influence).

CBS. The CRA map of CBS's coverage of the Paris attacks highlighted several themes. The words with the most influence found in the CBS coverage are: *terrorist*, *ISIS*, *security* and *U.S.* When examining the map, there are several themes that emerged. First, CBS's coverage focused on the attack itself, using words such as *attack*, *France*, *bomb*, and *Friday* (the day the attack occurred).

Map 13: CRA map of CBS transcripts – Paris



The map also represented a U.S. perspective to the attack, particularly in regard to politics, with words such as *Obama*, *President*, *State* and *threat*, being noted as

influential in the coverage. This indicates CBS framed the attacks in Paris in part based on the implications it may have on the United States.

Additionally, the CRA map indicates several themes on a global level. CBS connected this attack to other terrorist organizations; the words *qaeda* (referencing al Qaeda), and *cell* had strong connections. In addition, CBS focused on the refugee crisis in the Middle East and the way it may have contributed to the threat of terrorism with words such as *Syrian* and *refugee* and *border*.

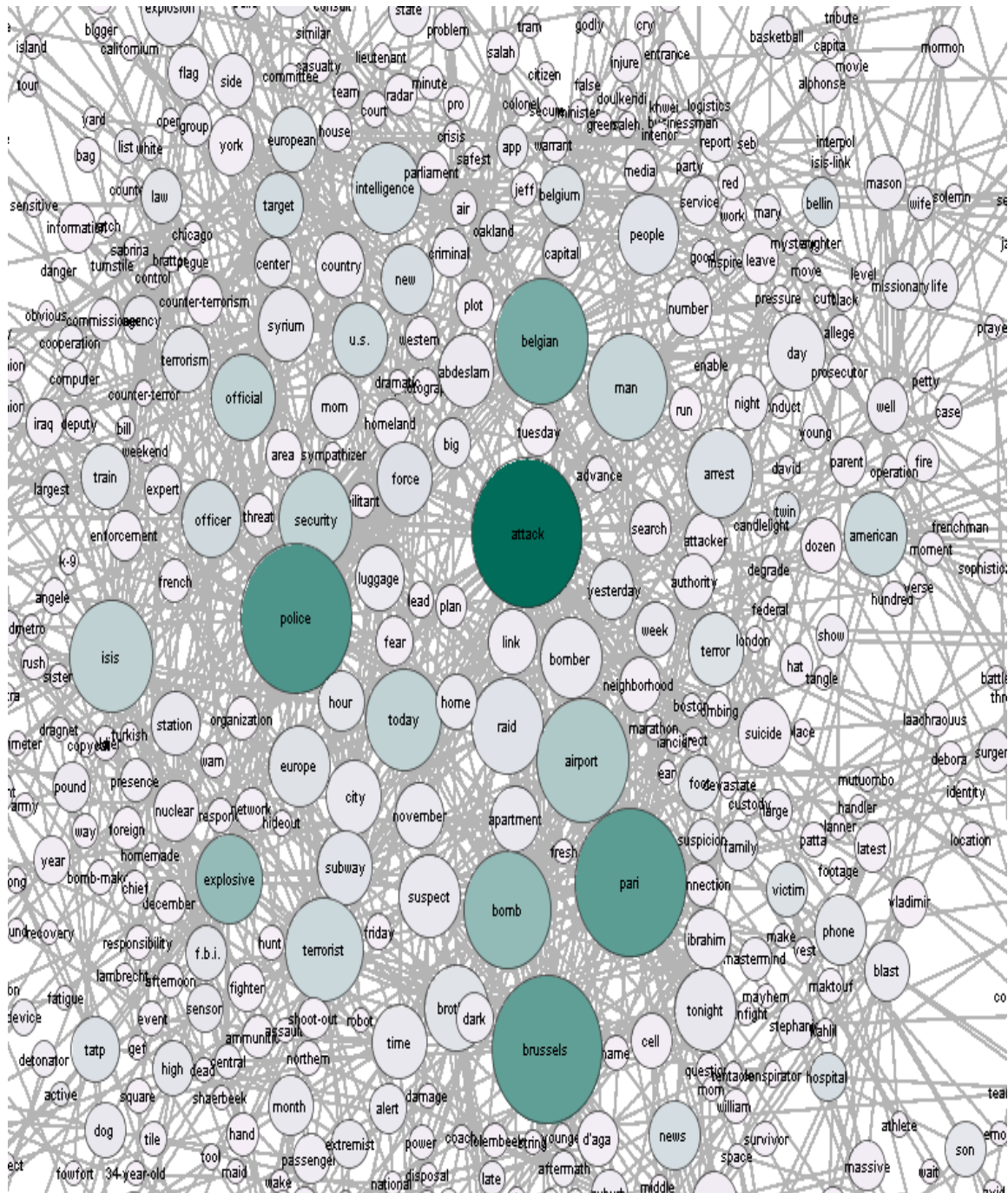
The CBS map of the Brussels attack exhibited similar themes. The most influential words were: *attack*, *Police* and *Paris*. The word *Paris* was influential as the coverage of the Brussels attacks were frequently compared to the attacks in Paris. Additionally, *bomb*, *explosive* and *airport* were influential, indicating CBS focused much of the coverage of description of the attack itself.

As noted, CBS's coverage of the Brussels attack was strongly influenced by the attacks in Paris. The word *Paris* was highly influential as well as *Abdeslam* (the name of one of the Paris attackers) and *November* (the month the attack took place). CBS framed the Paris attacks as a coordinated effort by the Islamic State cell that carried out the Paris attacks.

The map indicates CBS focused on the American perspective of the attacks. The map indicates strong links between the words *U.S.* and *intelligence*, and *homeland* and *security*. CBS coverage framed the Brussels attack based on how the United States government is preparing for potential future attacks. Additionally, the coverage provided an American perspective for the victim frame, with the words *American* and *victim* linked

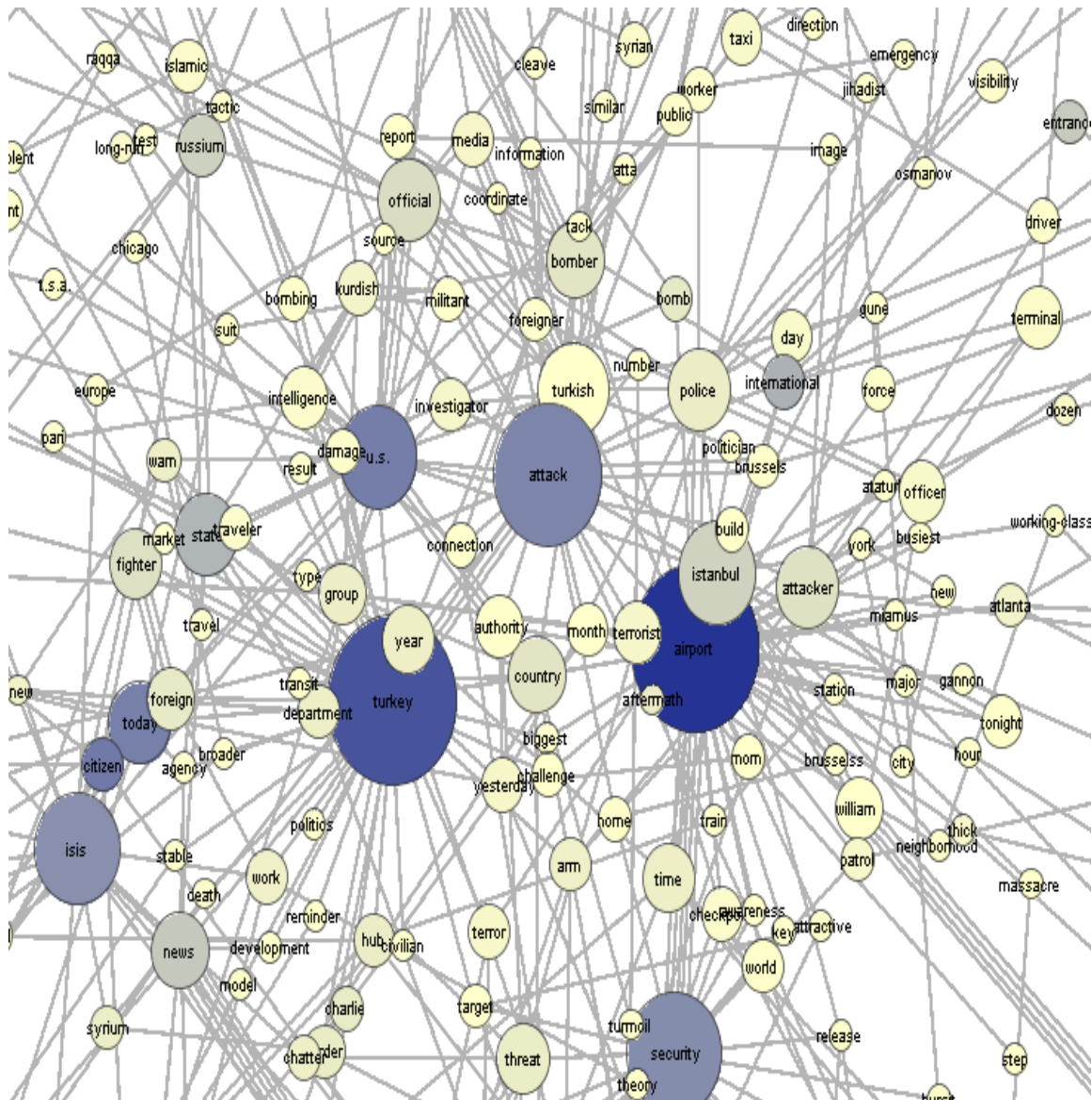
in the map. Although the attack happened in Belgium, CBS focused on the implications for Americans.

Map 14: CRA map of CBS transcripts – Brussels



The CBS map of the attack in Turkey had themes similar to the Paris attacks. One important note, the map was less dense than the Paris map, which is indicative of less coverage. The most influential words were: *airport*, *Turkey*, and *attack* as CBS's coverage primarily focused on describing the logistics of the attack. This is confirmed through additional word usage such as *bomb*, *bombing*, *taxi*.

Map 15: CRA map of CBS transcripts – Turkey



Similar to coverage of other attacks, CBS focused on the U.S. perspective of the attacks. Word groups such as *U.S.* and *official*, *U.S.* and *intelligence* and *U.S.* and *authority* appeared in the map. Although the attack took place in Europe, CBS framed the attack based on the United States government response and preparedness should a similar attack occur.

CBS also described the attack and attackers in several ways. The words *terrorist* and *attack*, *foreign* and *fighter* and *jihadist* and *attacker* were linked within the map.

CBS also connected this attack to other Islamic State attacks, with the words *Brussels* and *attacker* being connected. Lastly, the map includes a cluster of words associated with how the attackers were able to carry out the attack. *TATP* (a highly explosive ingredient used in bomb-making), *bomb*, *homemade*, and *bomb-maker*, were used in CBS coverage.

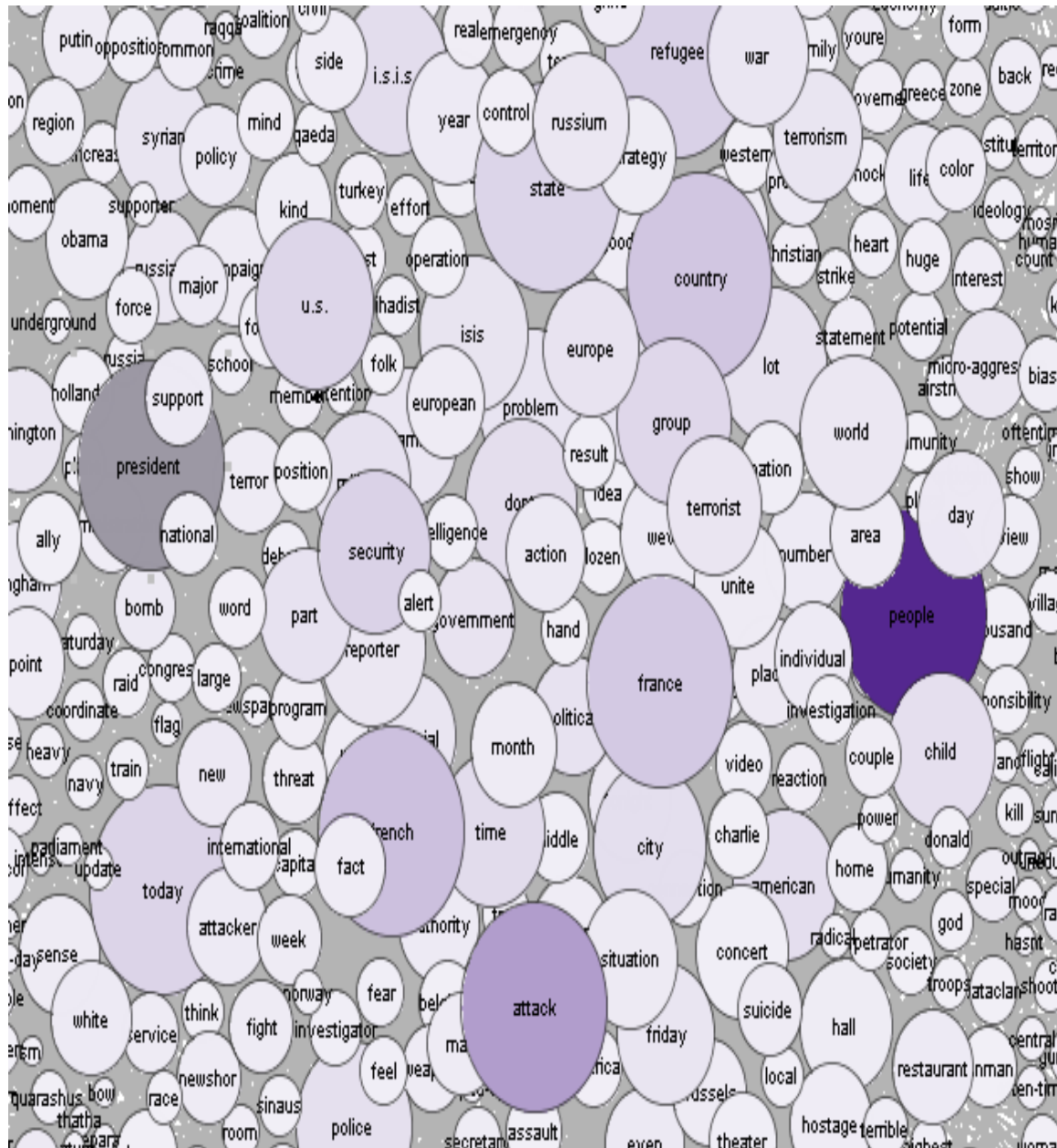
When examining CBS' coverage of all Islamic State attacks, the most influential words were: *attack*, *Paris*, *police*, *ISIS*, and *French*. Several themes emerged in CBS' coverage. First, there was strong focus on the Paris attacks, and the French response. This indicates of all Islamic State attacks, the greatest amount of coverage was devoted to the attacks in Paris. Although there was strong focus was on Paris, the coverage also reflected a pattern that nationalized the content. This was done through politics-*president*, *U.S.* and *government* – were used frequently and were influential in the coverage. In coverage of Islamic State attacks, CBS related the coverage to American political responses.

Additionally, there was a cluster of words related to the Syrian refugee crisis including *refugee*, *Syrian*, and *border*. When covering Islamic State attacks, CBS coverage associated the event to the larger implications of Islamic State controlled territory, and the influx of refugees to many areas. There was also a strong focus on the threat of terrorism, with a cluster of words emerging that included: *target*, *number*, *link*, *threat*. CBS coverage discussed the problem and threat of terrorism and related this to the Syrian refugee crisis.

There were also several themes that emerged. First, there was a cluster of words focused on international diplomacy and response to the attacks. These included: *Russian, policy, and Putin*. When discussing the attacks, PBS put emphasis on Russia's relationship with Syrian dictator Bashar al Assad, and how the United States should respond. A U.S. political theme was also present in the PBS map with words such as *President, policy, congress and campaign*.

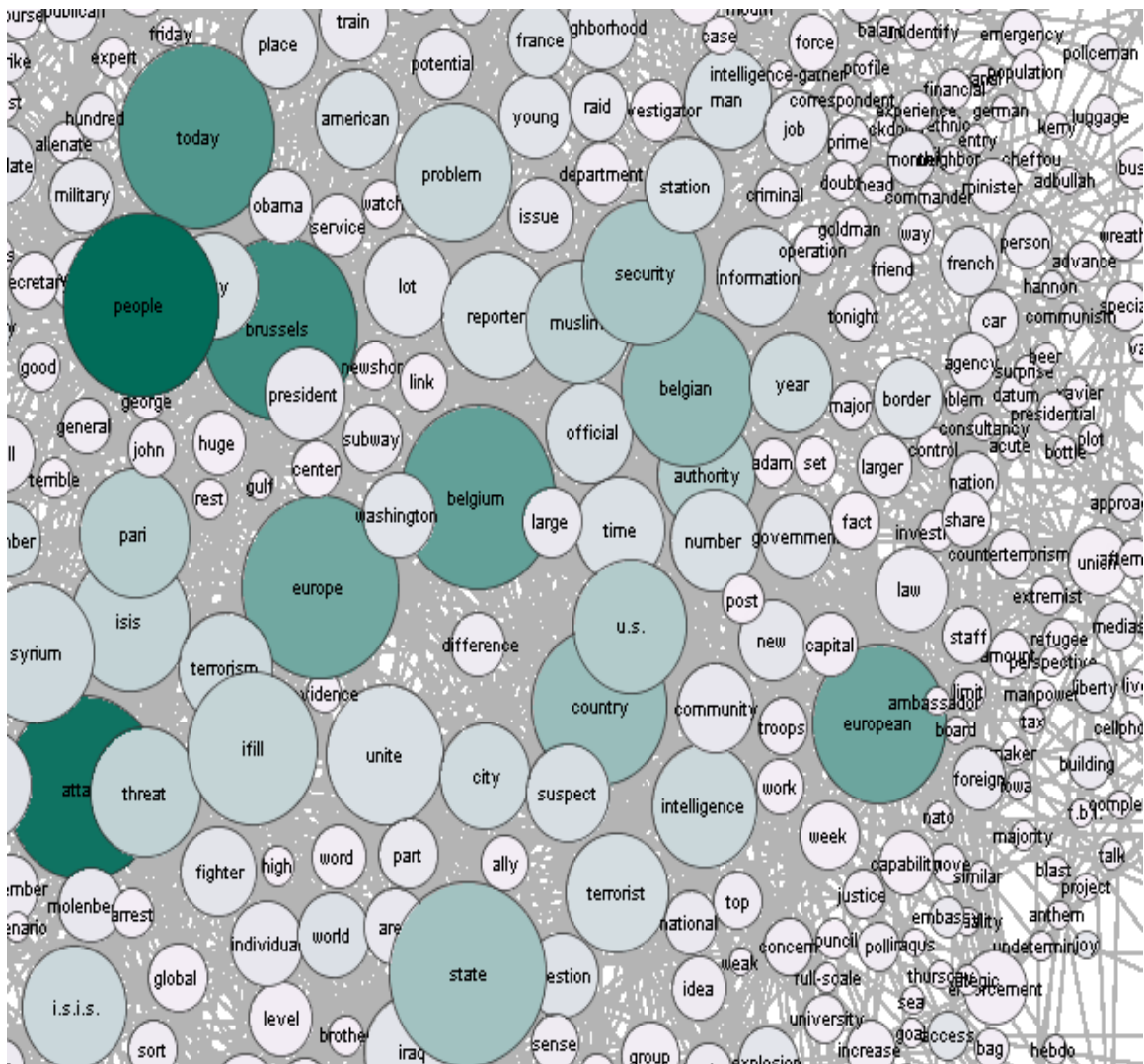
Another theme was the emphasis CNN coverage contained when describing the attack. The map presented a cluster of words –*Friday, suicide, concert, hall, restaurant* – that focused on describing the attack. In addition, PBS related this attack to previous terrorist attacks in France, as the words *Charlie* and *Hebdo* were linked. This referenced the 2015 shooting at satirical French magazine, Charlie Hebdo, by the terrorist group al Qaeda.

Map 17: CRA map of PBS transcripts – Paris



The CRA map PBS's coverage of the attack in Brussels focused on describing the attack. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *authority*, *Paris*, *Muslim*, *threat*, and *ISIS*.

Map 18: CRA map of PBS transcripts – Brussels

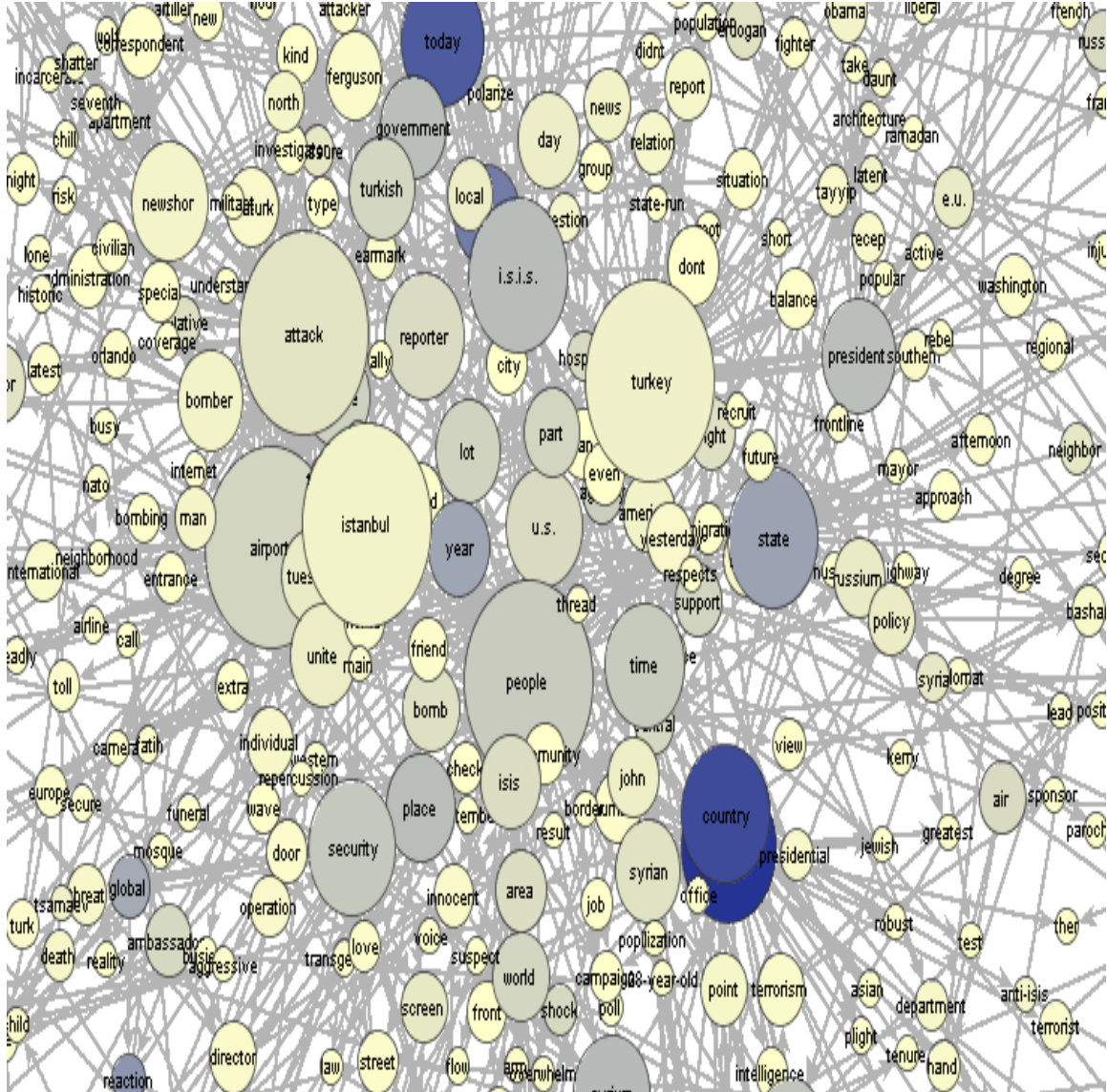


One theme that emerged in the PBS coverage was the cluster of words focused on the description of the attacker. These included: *terrorist*, *suspect* and *fighter*. PBS also focused on the American perspective of the attack, specifically from a political and military standpoint.

PBS's coverage of the attack in Turkey mirrored the language choices from the other two Islamic State attacks.

The most influential words were *country*, *today*, *I.S.I.S.* and *state*. I.S.I.S. was influential in the coverage is that is the term used most frequently by PBS. When covering the Turkey attack, PBS framed the attack, similar to other Islamic State attacks, in relation to U.S. foreign policy. A thematic cluster including *state*, *policy*, *country*, *presidential* and *department* emerged. When attacks occur abroad, PBS frames them in a way that focuses on American diplomacy.

Map 19: CRA map of PBS transcripts – Turkey



When examining the PBS map of all Islamic State attacks, the most influential word was *people*, an indication that PBS coverage framed the event extensively based on those involved.

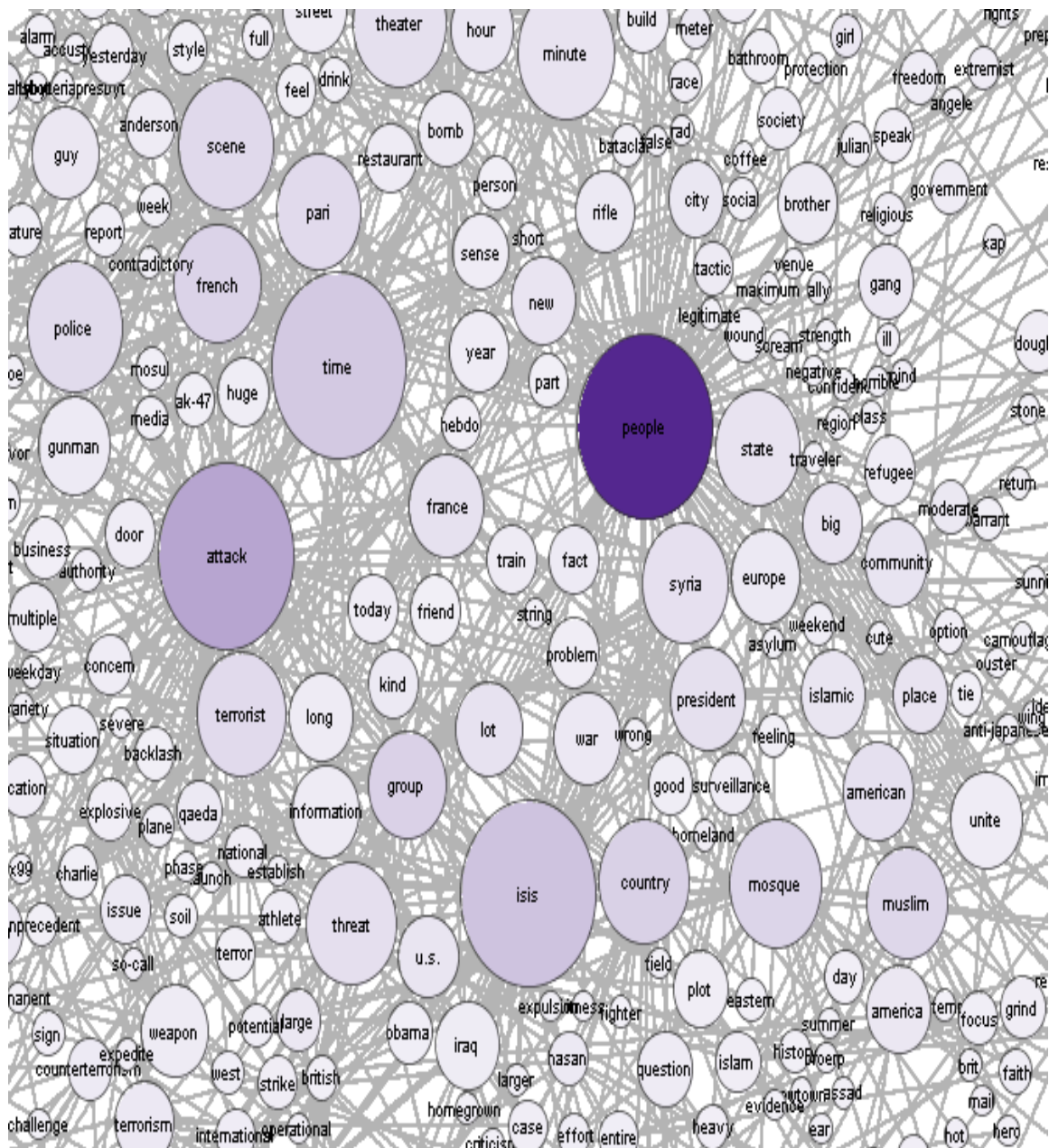
PBS map indicated frequent and linked usage of the terms *Muslim*, *terrorist*, and *I.S.I.S.*

This choice of language frames the attacker not only as a “terrorist” but also as a follower of the religion of Islam.

CNN. The CRA map of CNN’s coverage of the attacks in Paris demonstrated there was a strong focus on the terrorist group, I.S.I.S. The most influential words in CNN’s coverage of the Paris attacks were: *I.S.I.S*, *time*, *country*, *group*, and *French*.

There were also several themes that emerged. First, there was a cluster of words focused on describing the attack as it took place. These included: *street*, *theater*, *hour*, *Bataclan*, *bathroom*, *protection*, *venue* and *scream*. When discussing the attacks, CNN put emphasis on first-hand accounts from witnesses or survivors that could describe the scene. In addition, CNN had several stories focused on the way Muslims are perceived in France. The map presented a cluster of words –*Muslim*, *mosque*, *Islam*, *Islamic*, and *surveillance*– that focused on the response after the attack. The words *severe* and *backlash* were also linked signifying CNN framed the event, in part, from a Muslim perspective. In addition, CNN compared this attack to other terrorist organizations and previous attacks, as the words *plane*, *qaeda*, and *Charlie* were linked. This referenced the 2015 shooting at satirical French magazine, Charlie Hebdo, by the terrorist group al Qaeda and the September 11th, 2001 attacks in the United States.

Map 21: CRA map of CNN transcripts – Paris



One theme that emerged in the PBS coverage was the cluster of words focused on the political response to the attack. These included: *Cruz, Trump, presidential, candidate* and *party*. In part, CNN framed this attack from an American political perspective, and put strong emphasis on the 2018 Presidential candidate's responses.

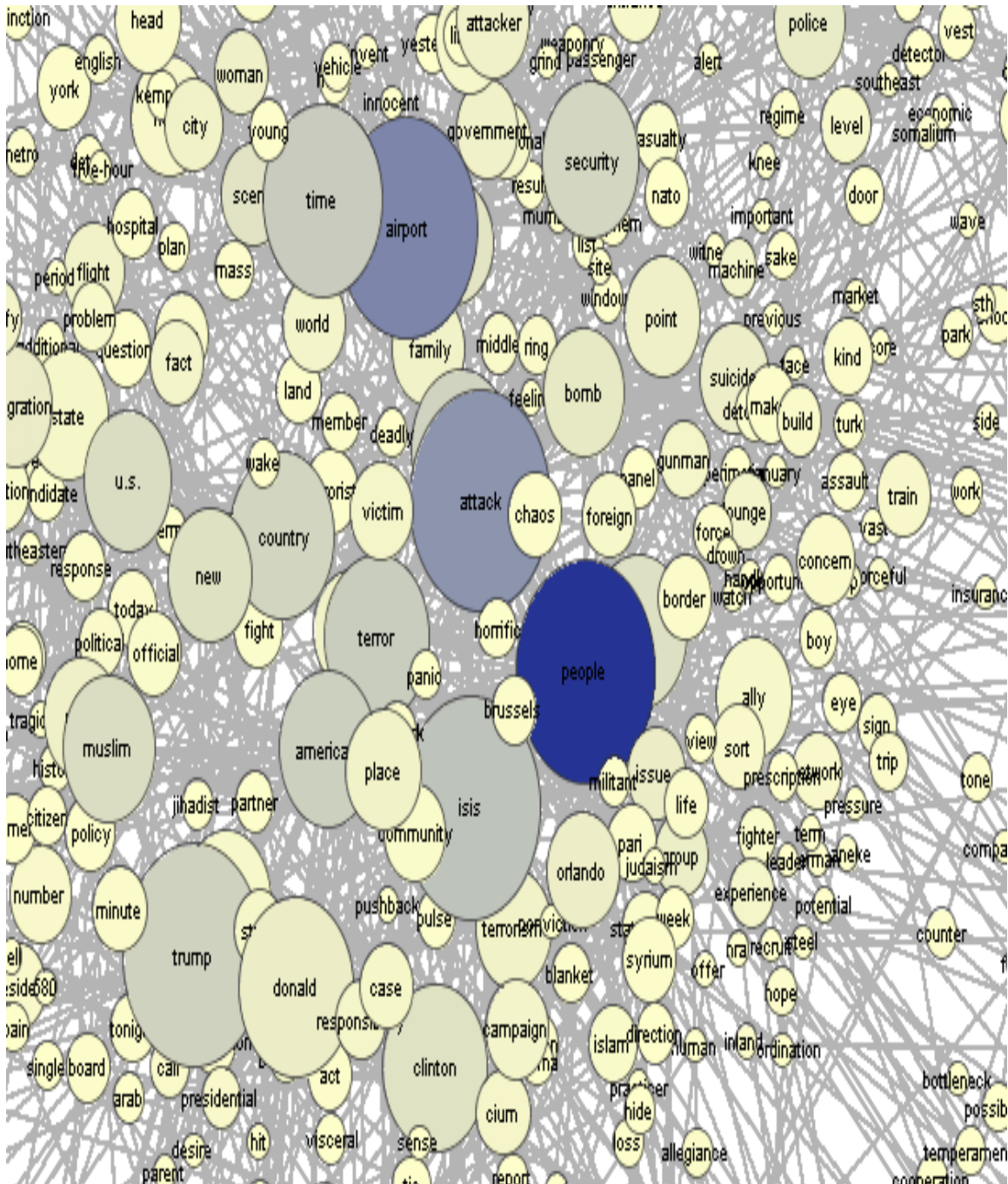
Additionally, CNN's coverage connected this attack to the Paris attack. Words such as *raid, arrest, investigation, security, Salah* and *Abdeslam* were linked within this map. Salah Abdeslam is a Belgium-born French national who was involved in the Paris attacks and was discussed extensively in CNN's coverage for his potential involvement in the Brussels attacks. An additional frame used by CNN when covering the Brussels attack focused on the investigation of terrorist cells, arrests and counter-terrorism investigations.

CNN's coverage of the attack in Turkey mirrored the language choices from the other two Islamic State attacks. The most influential words were *people, airport, and attack*. When covering the Turkey attack, CNN framed the attack, similar to other Islamic State attacks, in relation to U.S. politics and policy.

A thematic cluster including *Donald, Trump, Clinton, policy* and *campaign* emerged. Although the attack occurred in Turkey, CNN devoted extensive coverage to the Presidential candidate's response to the attacks.

CNN also framed this attack based on how it compared to other recent terror attacks. Words such as *Orlando, Paris, and Pulse* were used in the coverage.

Map 23: CRA map of CNN transcripts – Turkey



When examining the CNN map of all Islamic State attacks, the most influential word was *people*, an indication that, similar to PBS, coverage framed the event from a human perspective.

indicated frequent and linked usage of the terms *problem*, *terrorist*, and *threat*. This choice of language framed the Islamic State attacks from a problem-solution perspective, and the steps the American government was taking to prevent possible future attacks.

Research Question 2: The second research question asked: in what ways do International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror? The three International television news networks contained 82 total stories covering lone wolf attacks. Across all three networks, the attack in Orlando had the greatest amount of coverage (Table 8) with Sky News (n = 28) containing the most stories followed by Russia Today (n= 7) and Al Jazeera (n = 7).

Table 11
Total Stories in International News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	N=82		
	RT	Sky News	Al Jazeera
	n	n	n
Orlando	7	28	7
Nice	9	15	2
Berlin	14	NA	NA
Totals	30	43	9

Similar to the American news coverage, each of the networks used a combination of story types and had coverage from the studio as well as live reports from the location of the attack. The attacks in Nice and Germany were given less coverage across the three networks. Sky News (n = 15) contained the most coverage for Nice, followed by Russia Today (n = 9). Al Jazeera covered the attacks in Nice with only 2 stories. The attacks in Germany also garnered less media coverage than Orlando. Russia Today (n= 14) provided the most coverage of the attack. Sky News and Al Jazeera did not provide

footage for the attack. To ensure an accurate analysis of coverage, any attack that was not provided is denoted in tables as “NA” and was removed from statistical analysis.

The three International television news broadcasts contained 117 total stories covering Islamic State attacks. Across the three International networks, the attack in Paris ($n = 58$) garnered the most extensive coverage. Al Jazeera contained the greatest amount of stories ($n = 31$), and about 50 percent more than either Sky News ($n = 16$) or Russia Today ($n = 11$).

Research Question 2a. The second research question asked: in what ways do International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror? As with the analysis of the American news broadcasts, one way to answer this question is to examine the salience, as “how much material on the event is available, and how prominently it is displayed” contributes to the framing and understood importance of the event (Entman, 1993, p. 9).

Within the 82 stories covering lone wolf attacks across the three networks, there were a total 74 dominant images, 82 first images, and 1,399 secondary images. There are fewer dominant images than stories as 8 of the total stories did not contain a dominant image.

Hypothesis 3: To better understand RQ2a, hypothesis 3 was developed. H3 predicted there would be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf in International television news broadcasts. This hypothesis was not supported (Table 13 and Table 14). Findings indicate there was a statistically significant difference between International news coverage of lone wolf attacks ($\chi^2 = 30.12$, $df = 16$, $p < .05$ for dominant images; $\chi^2 = 48.70$, $df = 14$, $p < .05$ for first images).

First, dominant images, or the image that was on screen for the longest period of time, showed statistical differences in International news coverage of Lone wolf attacks. First, the way the “attack” was covered varied across networks. Al Jazeera employed this visual most frequently with 37.5% of dominant images, while RT (26.1.4%) used it less frequently. Sky News did not use an attack visual as the dominant image in any of the network’s stories.

Another distinct difference was the network’s use of “victim” as a dominant image. Sky News used the victim visual in almost a quarter of its coverage (23.3%) , while RT (8.7%) and Al Jazeera (12.5%) used it half as much.

Table 13
Dominant Images in International News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	Dominant Images in International News - Lone Wolf Attacks					
	RT		Sky News		Al Jazeera	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	4.3	1	2.3	1	0	0
Attack	26.1	6	0	0	37.5	3
Political	30.4	7	32.6	14	50	4
Victim	8.7	2	23.3	10	12.5	1
Attacker	13	3	2.3	1	0	0
Tribute	0	0	7	3	0	0
Islamic State	4.3	1	0	0	0	0
Other	8.7	2	30.2	13	0	0
Non-Attack	4.3	1	2.3	1	0	0
Totals	100	23	100	43	100	8

The way the “tribute” visual was used in International news varied greatly. Sky News (7%) used a dominant image coded as victim the most frequently. Al Jazeera and RT did not use a visual of the victim as a dominant image in any of their coverage.

Although statistically different, it is important to note that within international news coverage of Islamic State attacks, there were also some similarities. Across the

three attacks, the political image was used extensively by all three networks. Al Jazeera used it the most for half of the network's dominant images. RT (30.4%) and Sky News (32.6%) also used the victim visual most frequently. Only one of the broadcasts (RT) had dominant images associated with the Islamic State. Dominant images coded as the Islamic State contained the organization's leaders or soldiers.

International television news broadcasts also had distinct differences in regards to the first image used when covering lone wolf attacks. RT used an attack visual most frequently for the first image (23.3%), followed by a political image (16.7 %). It is important to note that RT coverage contained 23.3% of first images that were coded as "other". Images coded as other were considered related to the attack but were not considered to fall in any of the established categories.

Table 14
First Images in International News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	Dominant Images (N=32)					
	RT		Sky News		Al Jazeera	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	6.7	2	7	3	0	0
Attack	23.3	7	9.3	4	33.3	3
Political	16.7	5	18.6	8	44.4	4
Victim	10	3	11.6	5	11.1	1
Attacker	10	3	9.3	4	0	0
Tribute	6.7	2	23.3	10	0	0
Islamic State	3.3	1	0	0	0	0
Other	23.3	7	16.3	7	11.1	1
Non-Attack	0	0	4.7	2	0	0
Totals	100	30	100	43	100	9

Sky News had a much wider range of first images than RT or Al Jazeera. Sky News used the tribute (23.3 %) visual most frequently, followed by political (18.6%), victim (11.6 %) and attacker (9.3%). Similar to RT, Sky News also contained a large

number of first images coded in the “other” category. Unlike the other international networks, Sky News coverage contained images in every coding except Islamic State.

Al Jazeera used a political visual most frequently for the first image (44.4%), followed by attack (33.3 %) and victim (11.1%). Al Jazeera’s coverage did not contain any images from the geography, attacker, tribute or the Islamic State coding categories.

As with American news coverage, all images that were not coded as dominant (on screen the longest) or first (image that first appeared) were coded as secondary images. Secondary images also contribute to the framing of events. International news networks contained a total of 1, 334 secondary images related to the attack. Images that were not related to the attack were not used for analysis.

As can be seen in Table 15, from the available broadcasts that were analyzed, all three networks devoted the greatest coverage to the attacks in Nice. Sky News contained the most secondary images (265) for Nice while Al Jazeera contained the fewest (140). Another important area of distinction is the coverage of the Orlando attack. Sky News (261) coverage contained the most secondary images, followed by RT (114) and Al Jazeera had none.

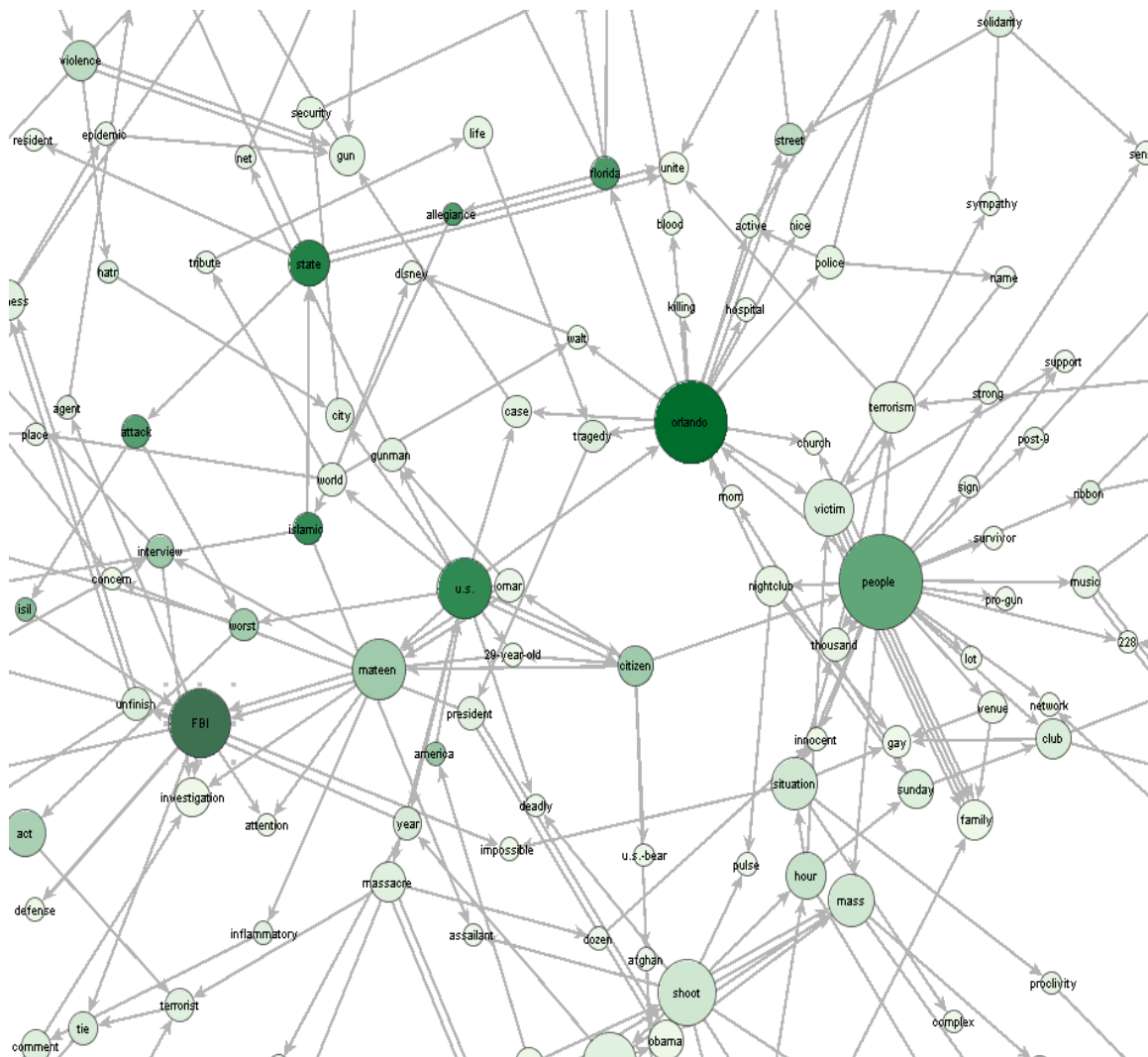
Table 15
Secondary Images in International News - Lone Wolf Attacks

	N= 1334			
	Orlando	Nice	Berlin	Totals
CBS	114	208	346	668
PBS	261	265	NA	526
CNN	0	140	NA	140
				1334

Research Question 2b. Research question 2b asked: In what ways do International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror perpetrated by lone wolves verbally? To examine this, Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) was used to analyze the transcripts of each broadcast. Broadcasts were analyzed first by each network's coverage of the three lone wolf attacks individually, followed by an analysis of the coverage of each type of attack (Islamic State or lone wolf) by each network.

RT. The CRA map of RT's coverage of the attacks in Orlando highlighted several themes that were present. First, the most influential words were: *Orlando*, *state*, *U.S.*, *Islamic* and *Florida*. One area of distinction is the emphasis RT coverage put on the Islamic State. The words *attack*, *ISIL*, *Islamic* and *state* were linked indicating the network framed this event as it related to the terrorist group.

Map 25: CRA map of RT transcripts – Orlando



When analyzing the map, there were several thematic clusters that emerged.

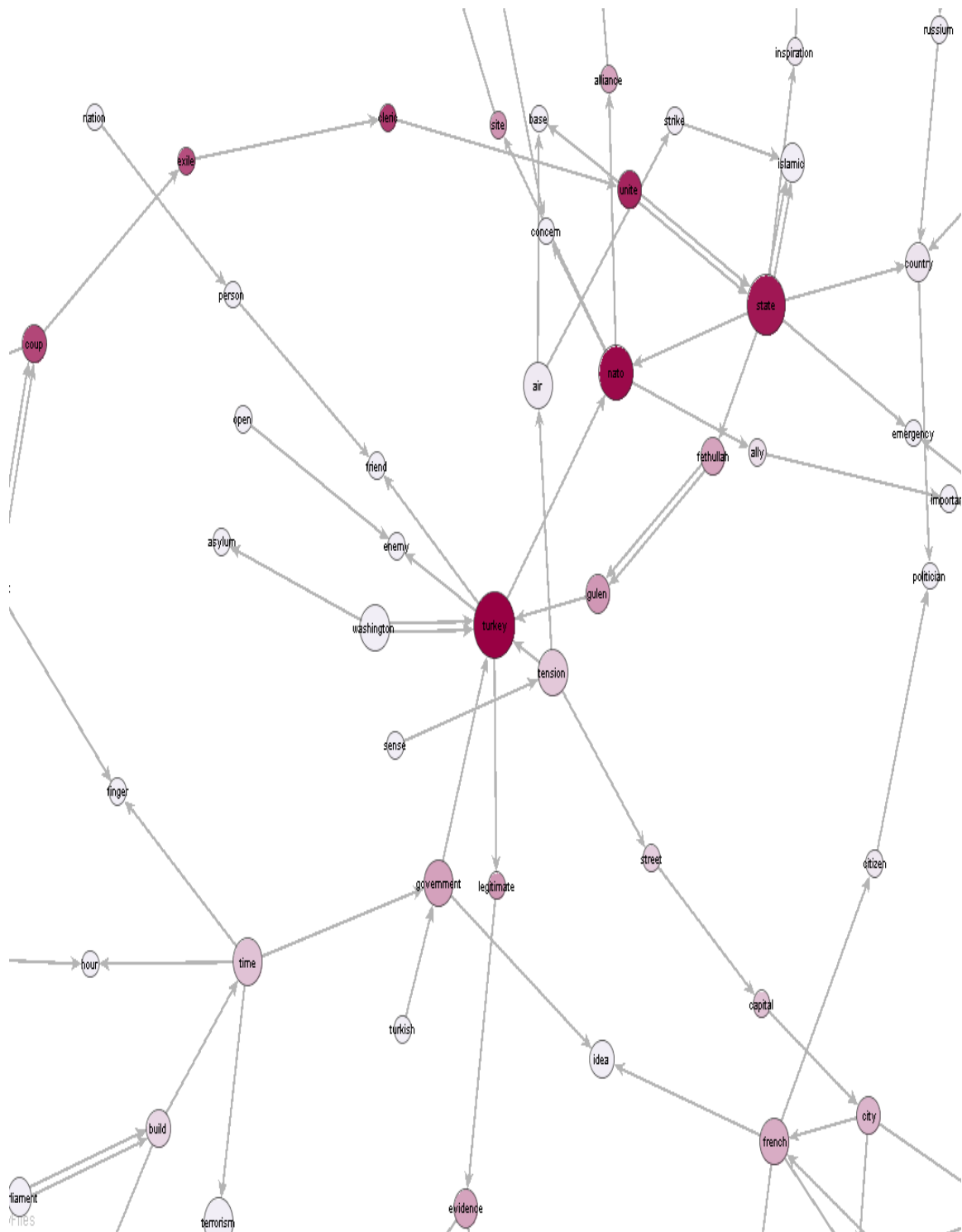
First, the RT map had several words describing the attacker– *U.S.-born, citizen, 29-year-old*. Another area of interest was the choice of descriptive words when labeling the attack and attacker. Words such as *terrorism, massacre, mass* and *shooting* were used in describing the attack, and *terrorist, assailant* and *gunman* were used within the coverage when describing the attacker. An additional theme present was the focus on the victims

with words like *sympathy*, *solidarity*, *support*, *innocent* and *victim*. In-depth interviews were also included in coverage with family members of victims.

The CRA map RT's coverage of the attack in Nice was the least dense of all maps examined. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *Turkey*, *NATO*, *state*, *unite* and *cleric*. RT coverage of the attacks did not focus on the attack itself, but instead the effects of this type of attack.

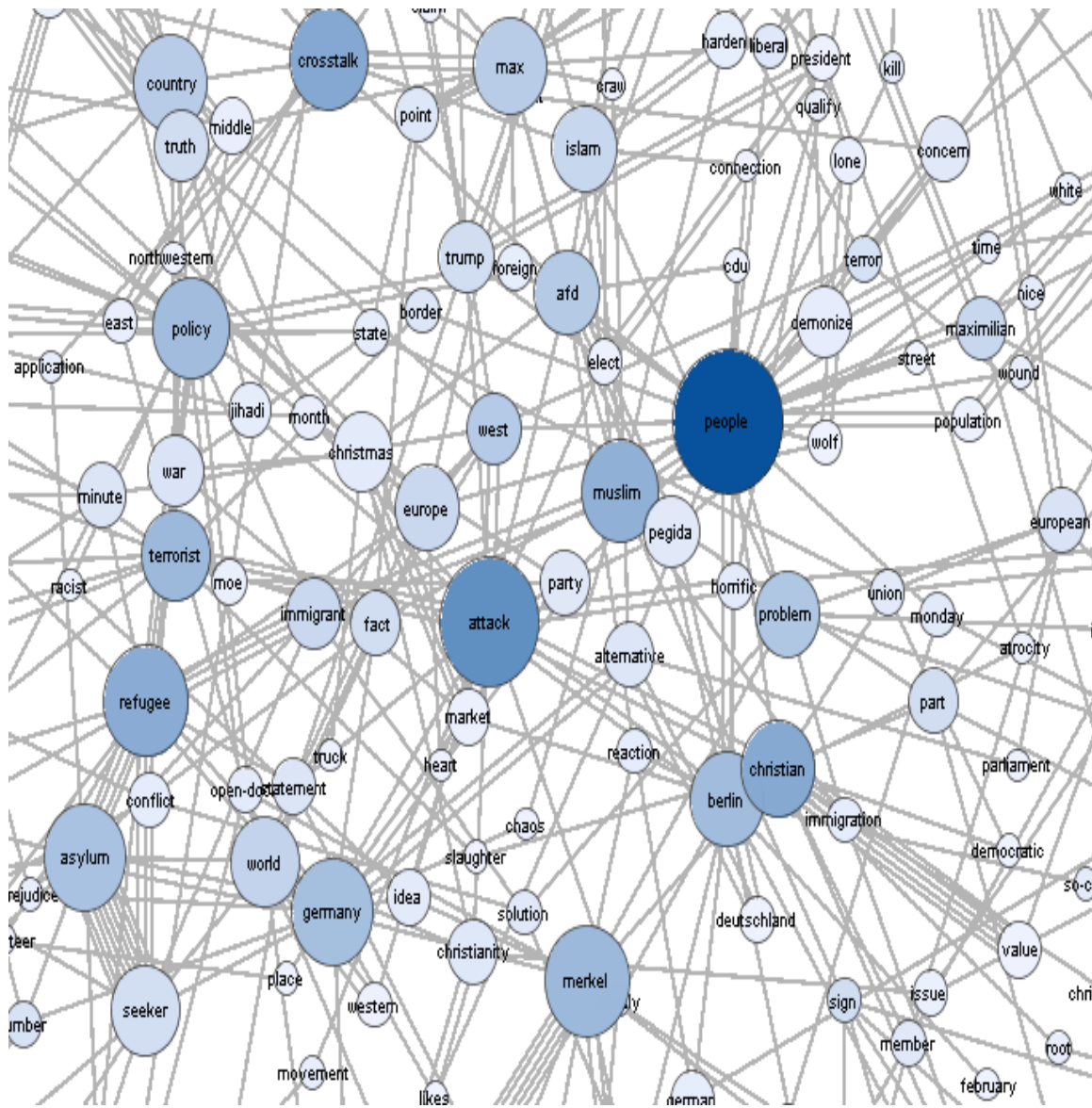
It was observed that there is strong component within the map, with words such as: *Turkey*, *NATO*, *alliance* connecting the attack to the global governmental response. In addition, a cluster with themes related to the attack was observed through use of the words *French*, *capital*, *street* and *city*, but they were not as influential. Lastly, the map indicates the word *terrorism* was used frequently, framing the attack as an act of terror. It is important to note that although the term terrorism was used, it was not considered influential in the choice of language by the network. Lastly, RT broadcasts contained a minimal amount of coverage of the actual attack, and instead focused on stories related to the military coup that was taking place in Turkey following the attack, and relating the attack to the political unrest.

Map 26: CRA map of RT transcripts – Nice



RT's coverage of the attack in Germany also focused on the attack itself. The most influential words were *people*, *attack*, *Christian* and *refugee*. The strongest links for the word *Christian* was with *value* and *people*, and for *refugee* the connections were from *terrorist* and *conflict*.

Map 27: CRA map of RT transcripts – Germany



Similar to the other networks, RT used a variety of terms when describing the attacker. The terms *asylum*, *seeker*, *refugee*, *terrorist*, *immigrant*, *lone* and *wolf* were used. The map also indicates the network framed this attack as a larger terrorism problem and discussed potential solutions.

When analyzing coverage of all lone wolf attacks, RT's map presented a large number of influential words where several themes emerged. First, the words with the most influence in the map were focused on the attacks themselves, and included – *people*, *attack*, *Orlando*, *time*, and *Europe*. Similar to other networks, of the three lone wolf attacks, the most time was devoted to Orlando thus heightening the attack's salience.

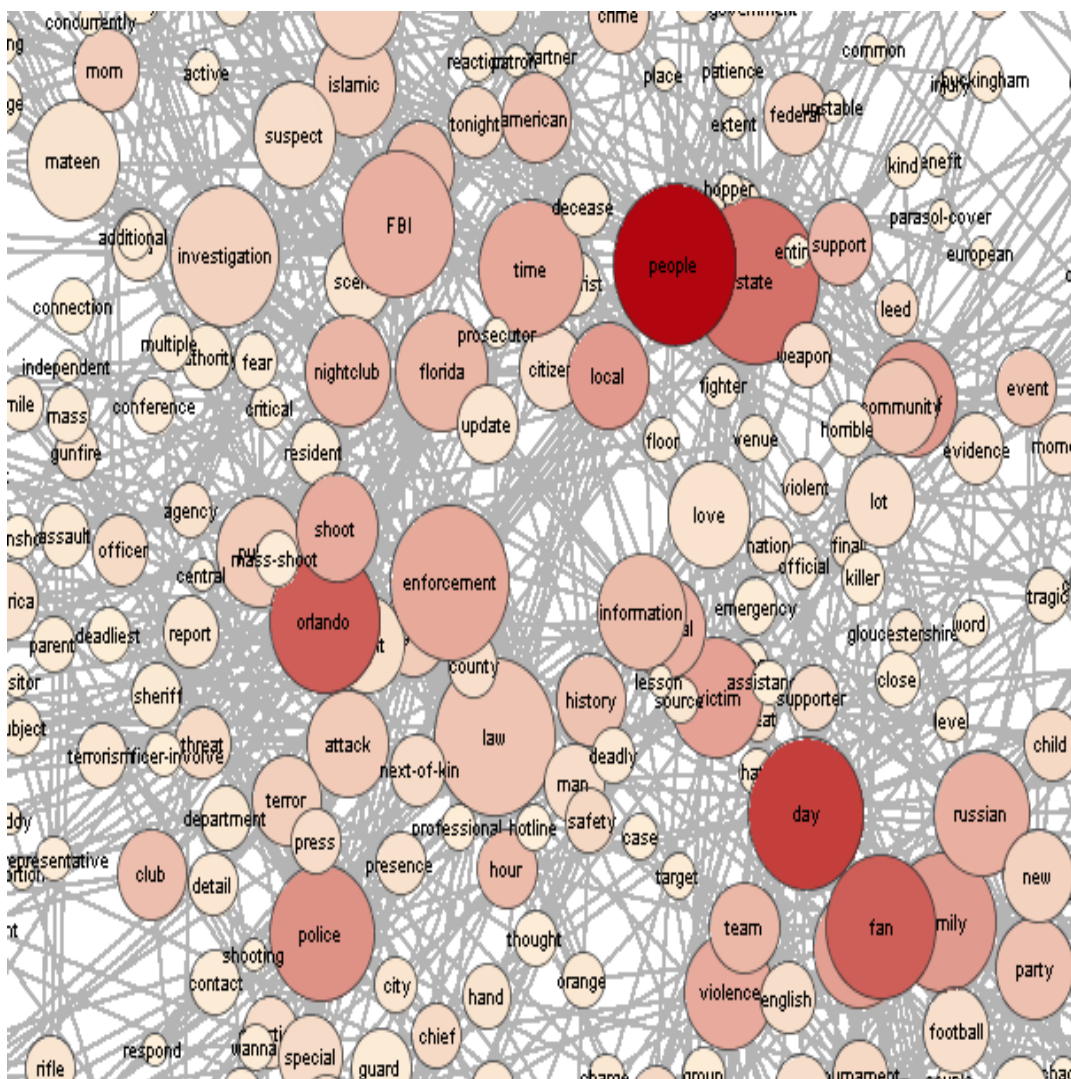
One important area of distinction in this map is the political frame that was used frequently. When examining the map, there are several clusters of words related to politics. These include: *European*, *Union*, *Merkel*, and *government* in one cluster, and *U.S.*, *president*, *Obama* and *America* in another.

RT's coverage included the political response from both the United States government but also from several European countries. In coverage of the attacks, the networks did describe it as a terror attack, as the words *terrorist* and *attack*, and *terror* and *attack* were linked. An additional area of interest is the theme that emerged on this map, but was not as influential in the analysis of individual attacks, was the victim frame. The terms *victim* and *family* had strong connections, as RT coverage included responses from many family members.

Sky News. The CRA map of Sky News' coverage of the attacks in Orlando indicated there were a large number of words that were highly influential. The words with the most influence in the coverage were: *people, day, Orlando* and *state*.

There were also several themes that emerged. First, a police frame emerged in the map. *Local, law* and *enforcement* were both influential and used frequently in the coverage of Orlando.

Map 29: CRA map of Sky News transcripts – Orlando



In addition, the use of the terms *investigation*, *FBI*, and *authority also* appeared frequently. Sky News did use the terms *terrorist* and *attack* when labeling the event, but the terms *deadliest*, *mass* and *shooting* were also used. One interesting element that was not present in the coverage by other networks was the frequent use of the word *love*.

Sky News' map also indicates several different terms were used when describing the method of attack – *gun*, *assault*, and *rifle* were present. Sky News broadcast included coverage focused on gun issues within American discourse.

The CRA map Sky News coverage of Nice showed similar framing as compared to the other two attacks. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *people*, *Nice*, *attack* and *France* indicating Sky News coverage centered on providing the basic details of the attack itself. Sky News coverage also contained language denoting the emotional climate during and after the attack using terms such as *panic* frequently.

The terms *terrorist* and *attack* and *Islamic* and *state* were also linked, indicating the way in which the attack was labeled. Although the attack in Nice was orchestrated by a lone wolf, Sky News coverage connected it back to the influence of the Islamic State. Terms *terrorist* and *attack* and *Islamic* and *state* were also linked, indicating the way in which the attack was labeled. Although the attack in Nice was orchestrated by a lone wolf, Sky News coverage connected it back to the influence of the Islamic State.

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When examining the Sky News map of all lone wolf attacks, the most influential words were *people, attack, state, day, Nice and France*. When covering Lone Wolf attacks, Sky News puts focus on those involved and describing what took place.

There were also several themes that emerged in Sky News' coverage. First, although words directly connected to Orlando were not considered influential, the Orlando attack was still prominent in the map.

Sky News differed from other news organizations coverage of Lone Wolf attacks as a cluster of words emerged focused on the emotional response to the attacks. This included language such as *solidarity, moment, tragedy, respects, unite and sympathy*. In covering this type of attack, Sky News emphasized the tributes to the victims and the global support.

Sky News also employed language that contained an emotional tone. These include words such as *horrific, sicken, horrible*, and *tragedy*. When discussing Lone Wolf attacks, Sky News uses language that indicates feelings towards these violent acts from both news personnel and interview subjects.

[illegible]

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The attacker was described in several different ways on Al Jazeera –*extremist, radical and terrorist*– as was the attack - *domestic, terrorism, and shooting*. One emergent theme was the use of language describing the attacker’s family. The words *Afghan, national, family* and *shock* were linked. Al Jazeera included reports containing footage of the family of Omar Mateen, primarily of his father Seddique. One interesting link within Al Jazeera’s coverage of Orlando was the link between the terms *homosexuality, punishment, sin* and *God*. Al Jazeera in part framed the event based on information regarding the attacker’s motives. Al Jazeera also framed this attack as it related to another lone wolf attack, as the words *San* and *Bernadino* were linked. This referenced the terrorist attack that occurred in San Bernardino in December, 2015.

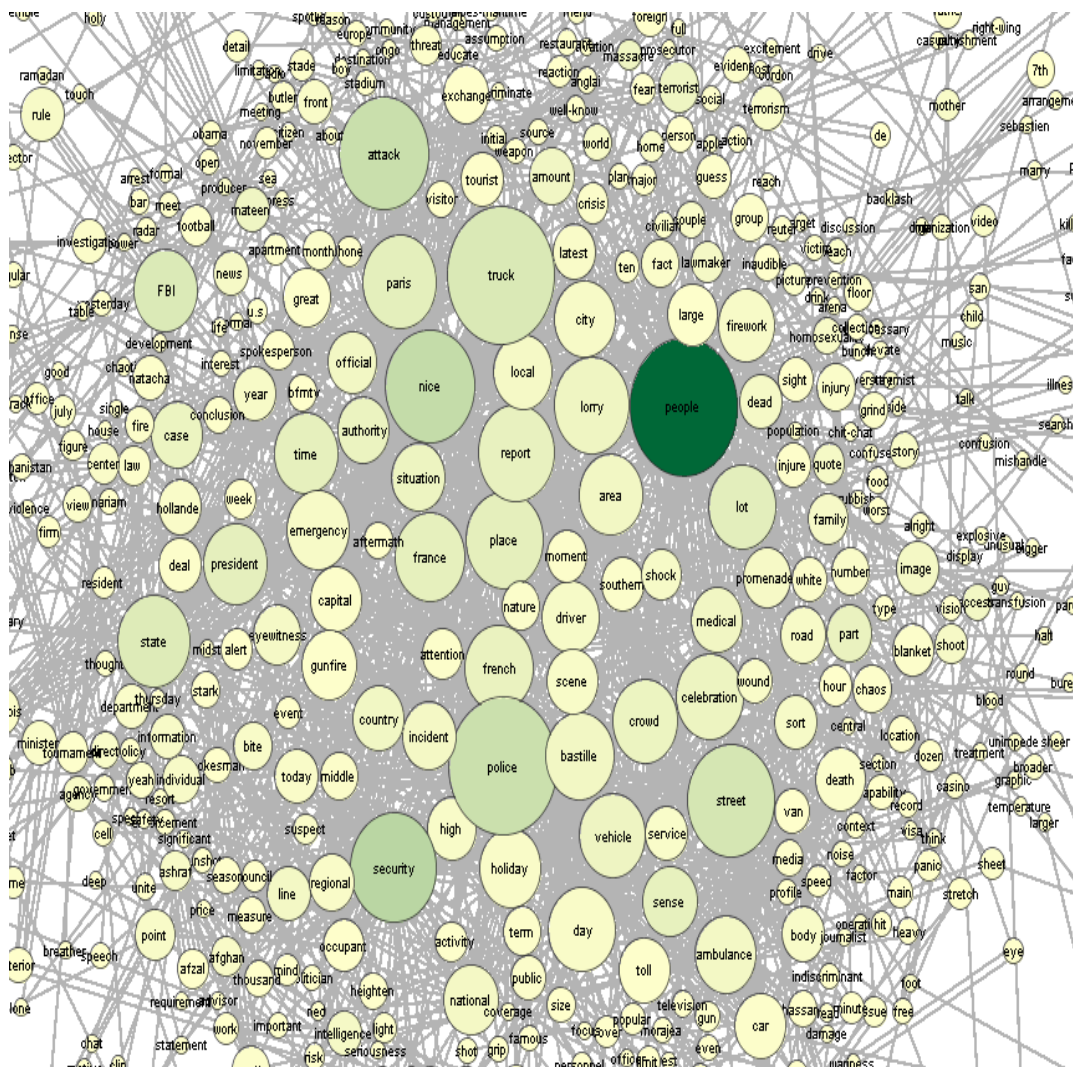
The CRA map Al Jazeera’s coverage of the attack in Nice had similar themes as the other networks examined. The most influential words in the map were: *people, security, Nice, police, street* and *attack* indicating CNN coverage focused predominately on describing the event. One note, the term *lorry* emerged as being used frequently and influential in Al Jazeera’s coverage. The use of the term *lorry* is equivalent to American news coverage use of the word *truck*.

One interesting theme that emerged from this map was the incorporation of content focused on the security in the country of France. *Heightened, high, security* were clustered within the map, demonstrating Al Jazeera framed the attack in Nice around how the government was improving security measures and protection.

Al Jazeera did not provide transcripts for analysis for the attack in Germany.

The analysis of Al Jazeera's coverage of all lone wolf attacks produced a map that contained a range of influential words including: *people*, *police*, *security* and *attack*. The most important element to note is the strong focus on words describing the attacks. The terms *attack*, *truck*, *Nice*, *street* and *scene* were used frequently. Al Jazeera framed the attack by explaining the details of what occurred. This was very similar to the way other American and International networks framed lone wolf attacks.

Map 34: CRA map of Al Jazeera transcripts – All Lone Wolf



Research Question 2c. Research question 2c asked in what ways do International television news broadcasts visually frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State?

Hypothesis 4: To better understand RQ2c, hypothesis 4 was developed. H4 predicted there would be no differences in the visual framing of acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State in International television news broadcasts. This hypothesis was not supported (Table 16 and Table 17). Findings indicate there is a statistically significant difference between International news network's coverage of Islamic State attacks ($\chi^2 = 40.64$, $df = 14$, $p < .05$ for dominant images; $\chi^2 = 48.70$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$ for first images).

Within the 117 stories across the three networks, there were a total 75 dominant images, 114 first images, and 1,837 secondary images. There are fewer first images than stories as 3 of the total stories were anchor readers and contained no images and 42 of the stories had no dominant image.

First, dominant images, or the image that was on screen for the longest period of time, showed statistical differences in International news coverage of Islamic State attacks. First, the way the "attack" was covered varied across networks. Al Jazeera employed this visual most frequently with 58.3% of dominant images, while both Sky News (24%) and RT (21.4%) used it less than half as frequently. Examples of dominant images coded as "attack" may have included footage as the attack took place, people fleeing the attack site, police equipment or ordinance or first responders.

Another distinct difference was the network's use of "geography" as a dominant image. Examples of dominant images coded as "geography" include maps of the location where the attack took place, maps of Islamic State controlled territory or maps of the

Middle East. RT's coverage of lone wolf attacks contained the greatest amount of 14.3%, SKY contained 4%, and Al Jazeera contained none.

The way the "victim" image was used in International news varied greatly. Sky News (20%) used a dominant image coded as victim the most frequently, followed by RT (14.3%). Al Jazeera did not use a visual of the victim as a dominant image in any of their coverage. There were also distinct differences in the use of the political image across International news. Al Jazeera (25%) used a political visual as one-quarter of the dominant images. Sky News (20%) also used a political visual frequently, but RT (7.1%) used it rarely.

Although statistically different, it is important to note that within International news coverage of Islamic State attacks, there were also some similarities. Across the three attacks, none of the broadcasts had dominant images associated with the Islamic State. Dominant images coded as the Islamic State contained the organization's leaders or soldiers.

Table 16
Dominant Images in International News - Islamic State Attacks

	Dominant Images in International News - Islamic State Attacks					
	N = 75					
	RT		Sky News		Al Jazeera	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	14.3	2	4	1	0	0
Attack	21.4	3	24	6	58.3	21
Political	7.1	1	20	5	25	9
Victim	14.3	2	20	5	0	0
Attacker	0	0	20	5	0	0
Tribute	7.1	1	0	0	8.3	3
Islamic State	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	14.3	2	8	2	8.3	3
Non-Attack	21.4	3	4	1	0	0
Totals	100	14	100	25	100	36

When examining dominant images in International news broadcasts of attacks carried out by the Islamic State, there were two key distinctions in how the attacks were covered visually. First, the use of the “attack” image varied greatly across networks. Al Jazeera employed this visual most frequently with over 50% of the network’s dominant image being related to the attack. In comparison, Sky News (24 %) used images of the attack half as much, while RT (21.4%) only used a dominant image of the “attack” frame three times in the coverage of all three Islamic State attacks.

Another distinct difference was the network’s use of the “political” visual as a dominant image. Al Jazeera’s coverage of Islamic State attacks contained more than 25% of dominant images related to politics while RT used a political image only 7.1% of the time. Sky News fell in the middle at 20%.

In addition, there was variance amongst the networks in the use of the “attacker” image. Sky News (20%) dominant image included the attacker in more than one fifth of the coverage of Islamic State attacks. RT and Al Jazeera did not use this visual in any of their broadcasts.

International television news broadcasts also had distinct differences in regards to the first image used when covering Islamic State attacks. RT used visuals related to the attack most frequently for the first image (28.6%), followed by tribute (21.4 %) and non-attack (10.7%). In RT’s coverage of Islamic State attacks, 25% of their first images were coded as “other”,

Sky News used visuals coded as tribute most frequently for first images with almost one-quarter of stories on the attacks beginning with a political image (22.9%). Sky News also had the most diversity in the use of first images, as the coverage contained first images in the geography (14.3%), victim (14.3%) and attacker (14.3%) categories. Sky News did not use any first images coded as Islamic State.

Al Jazeera coverage included a visual coded as attack (43.1%) most often as the first image. Al Jazeera also used a political image (23.5%) frequently. Al Jazeera did not have any first images from the geography, victim, or Islamic State categories when covering Islamic State attacks.

Table 17
First Images in International News - Islamic State Attacks

	Dominant Images (N = 71)					
	RT		Sky News		Al Jazeera	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Geography	7.1	2	14.3	5	0	0
Attack	28.6	8	11.4	4	43.1	22
Political	7.1	2	8.6	3	23.5	12
Victim	0	0	14.3	5	0	0
Attacker	0	0	14.3	5	2	1
Tribute	21.4	6	22.9	8	5.9	3
Islamic State	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	25	7	8.6	3	9.8	5
Non-Attack	10.7	3	5.7	2	15.7	8
Totals	100	28	100	35	100	51

International news networks contained a total of 1,837 secondary images related to the attacks. As with the dominant and first images, findings indicate there was a statistically significant difference between International news network's visual coverage of Islamic State attacks ($\chi^2 = 558.70$, $df = 4$, $p < .05$ for secondary images).

Table 18
Secondary Images in International News - Islamic State Attacks

N= 1837

	Paris	Brussels	Turkey	Totals
RT	115	125	254	494
Sky News	300	478	81	859
Al Jazeera	269	215	0	484
				1837

As can be seen in Table 18, the amount of visuals included in the coverage of each attack varied greatly. RT contained the most visuals for the attack in Turkey, while Sky News contained the greatest amount for Brussels, and Al Jazeera contained the most for the attacks in Paris.

Research Question 2d. Research question 2d asked: In what ways do International television news broadcasts verbally frame acts of terror perpetrated by the Islamic State? To examine this, Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) was used to analyze the transcripts of each broadcast. Broadcasts were analyzed first by each network's coverage of the Islamic State attacks individually, followed by an analysis of the coverage of each type of attack (Islamic State or lone wolf) by each network.

RT. The CRA map of RT's coverage of the Paris attacks provided analysis of several areas of interest. The words with the most influence found in the RT coverage are: *French, people, Paris, migrant and attack*. When examining the map, there are several themes that emerged.

First, RT's coverage framed the event as it related to international politics. *The words G-20, summit, Russian, Putin, Obama and political* were clustered. The G-20 summit was held on November 15-16, 2015 and RT's coverage of the Paris attacks

focused on the international response. Additionally, the words *war* and *ISIL* were connected, as RT's coverage included the global war against the group. The map also represented extensive coverage of the terrorist group, the Islamic State. The words *Islamic*, *leader*, *terrorist*, and *group* were used frequently and were connected. This indicates RT devoted a substantial amount of coverage to the Islamic State and providing information about the organization.

Additionally, the CRA map indicates several themes related to covering what was taking place in Islamic State controlled territory in the Middle East. The terms *people*, *refugee*, *border*, *problem*, and *migrant* were connected. Similar to the American coverage of the Paris attacks, RT focused on the refugee crisis in the Middle East. RT coverage also focused on future attacks, as the terms *threat* and *terrorism* were linked. RT framed the Paris event in regards to the larger issue of terrorism, and the potential for future attacks.

and *security* and *border* were connected. RT's coverage had a strong focus on current security measures, and what could be done to strengthen security to prevent against future attacks.

The RT map of the attack in Turkey demonstrated the coverage had a strong Russian political frame. The most influential words were: *country*, *leader*, *European* and *Russian*. The framing of this event was distinct from the other two Islamic State attacks as there was a Russian nationalistic frame employed in much of the coverage. This may be explained by the relationship between Russia and Turkey.

Similar to coverage of other attacks, RT focused on the description of the attack. Word groups such as *airport* and *terminal*, *terminal* and *bomb*, *arrival* and *terminal* and *international* and *terminal* appeared in the map. Additionally, RT's coverage connected this attack the Brussels attacks. The words *Brussels* and *airport*, and *airport* and *March* were connected. Although the attack took place in Turkey, RT framed the attack around other similar attacks executed by the Islamic State.

There were also several themes that emerged. First, similar to other broadcasts, Sky News focused on describing the attack. Words such as *bomb* and *game* were used when describing the attack at the soccer stadium. There was also a focus on the political response. For example, *Prime* and *minister* are strongly linked within the map. Sky News coverage included reaction and responses from Francois Hollande, the Prime Minister of France, framing the event based on politics.

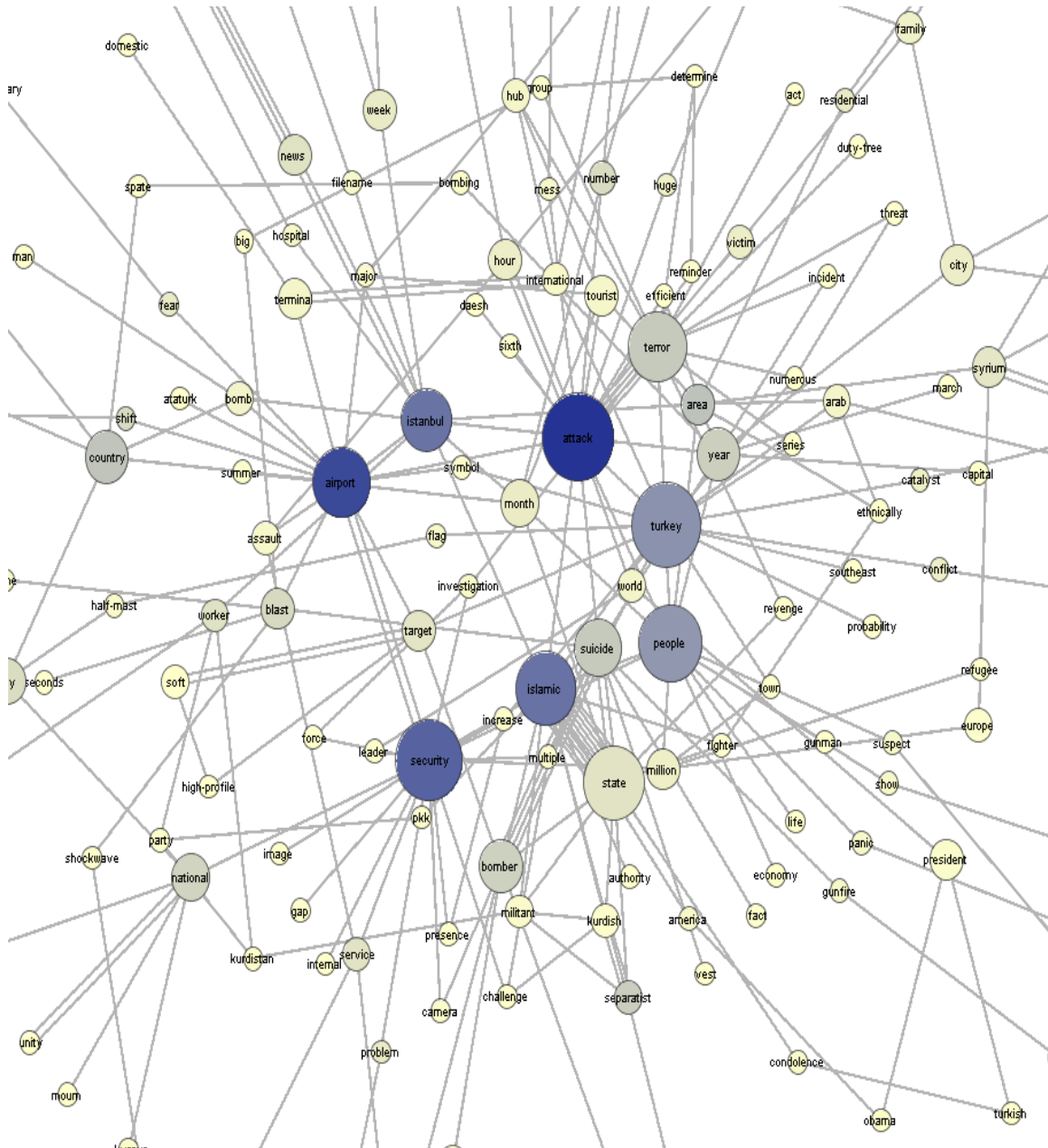
As was observed with other global news organizations, Sky News connected the attack to the Syrian refugee crisis. The terms *Syrian*, *refugee*, and *resettlement* were linked within the map, and *refugee* was additionally linked to *Islamic* and *State*. Sky news connected this attack, and the possible reasons and implications of the attack, to what is taking place in Islamic State controlled territory. Sky News also discussed this attack as it connects to other terrorist groups as the work *Boko* and *Haram* are present and connected. This is in reference to a terrorist organization that has pledged allegiance to the Islamic State. In part, Sky News framed this attack as part of global terrorism carried out by organized groups.

The CRA map Sky News' coverage of the attack in Brussels also focused on describing the attack. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *attack*, *people*, *Brussels*, and *Belgium*.

One theme that emerged in the Sky News' coverage was the cluster of words focused on the description of the attacker. These included: *suicide*, *bomber*, *terrorist*, *suspect*, and *militant*. The term *militant* was also connected to the terms *Islamic* and

PBS's coverage of the attack in Turkey mirrored the language choices from the other two Islamic State attacks.

Map 41: CRA map of Sky News transcripts – Turkey



The most influential words were *attack*, *airport*, *security* and *Islamic*. When covering the Turkey attack, Sky News framed the attack, similar to other Islamic State attacks, through description of what took place. A thematic cluster including *airport*, *terminal*, *assault* and *blast* emerged. Sky News also described the perpetrators in several ways. The words *Islamic* and *State* were connected, as were *suicide* and *bomber* and *Islamic* and *militant*. The network also used the terms *terror* and *attack* to describe what took place.

A second frame employed related to security measures. The terms *security* and *service*, *security* and *investigation*, *security* and *problem* were connected. Sky News coverage discussed gaps in security measures that allowed for the attack to take place, and future changes to strengthen security in locations such as airports.

Sky News also had a strong focus on the response to the attacks. The words *national* and *unity*, *national* and *mourn* were also used. This indicates Sky News focused on how the nation responded after the attacks, and provided coverage of the numerous vigils that took place.

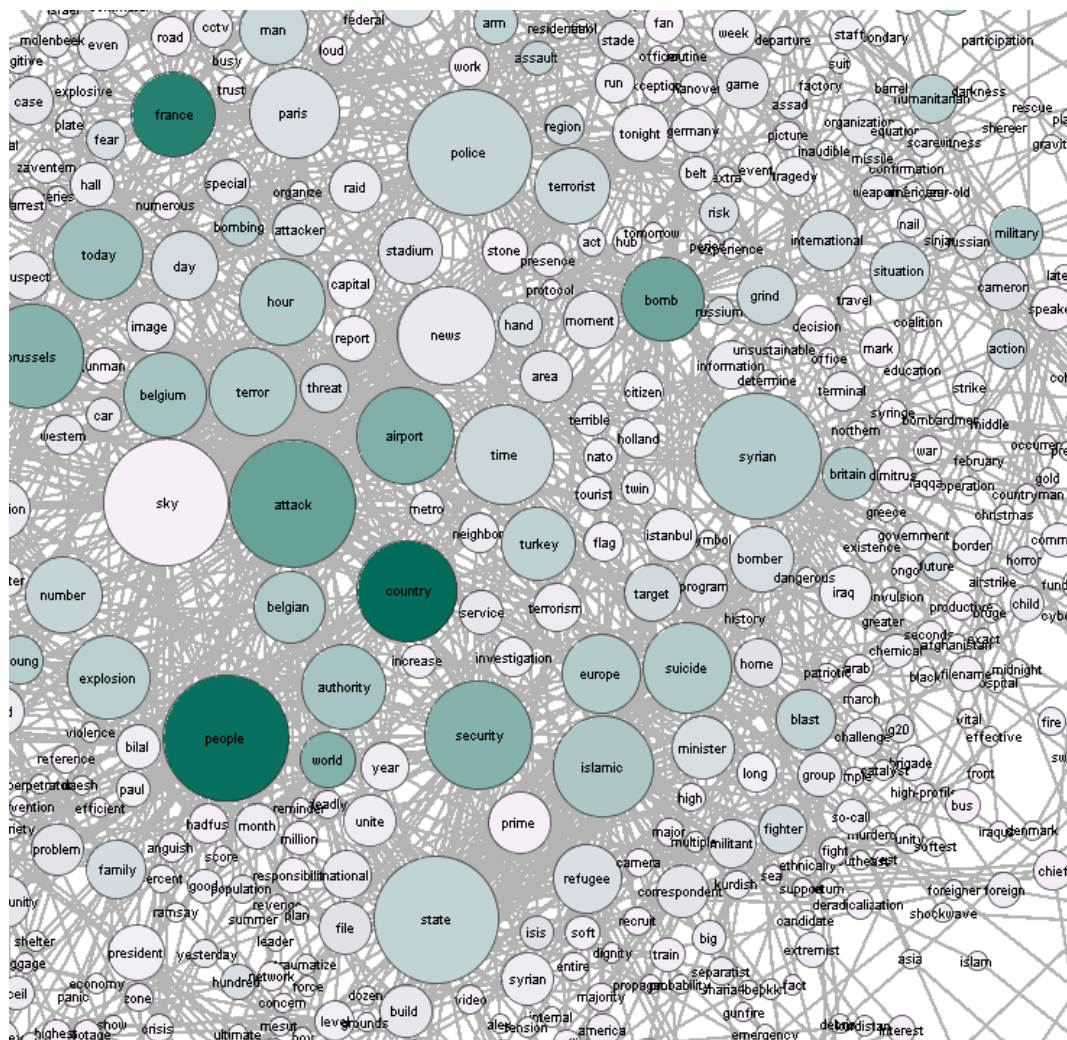
When examining the Sky News map of all Islamic State attacks, the most influential words were *country*, *people*, *France*, *attack* and *bomb*. Sky News connects coverage of attacks carried out by the Islamic State to describing and relating information back to the attack itself.

One theme that emerged from this map was the focus on European politics and military response to the attacks. The terms *military*, *action* and *strike* were linked,

indicating Sky News framed the way the global community responded. This included air strikes in the Islamic State controlled territories in Iraq and Syria.

There was also a strong focus on the police investigation. The word *police* was used frequently and was identified as being influential. The term was linked to a variety of other words including: *work*, *assault*, *federal*, and *raid*. Sky News focused on the local and national police investigations that were examining not only each attack, but also the larger issue of terrorist cells within Europe.

Map 42: CRA map of Sky News transcripts – All Islamic State



the attacks. The terms *mosque*, *reaction*, *community* and *frustration* were linked to the term *Muslim*. There was also a cluster of words focused on describing the different locations and setting of the attack. These included: *night*, *restaurant*, *hall*, *concert*, *venue* and *hall*. When discussing the attacks, Al Jazeera put emphasis on describing the scene and often used the terms *emergency* and *situation*.

In addition, the Al Jazeera coverage contained several stories focused on the way the police response to the attacks. The map presented a cluster of words *police*, *hostage*, *apartment* and *theater* and *intelligence*, *investigation*, *information*, and *police were present*. Al Jazeera framed the Paris attacks in a way that focused on the police response during and after the attack.

The CRA map Al Jazeera's coverage of the attack in Brussels, similar to other networks, focused on describing the attack. Some of the most influential words in this map were: *Brussels*, *attack*, *people*, *Europe* and *security*. Similar to the other International and American networks, Al Jazeera framed the event around the logistics of what took place.

One theme that emerged from the Al Jazeera coverage was the cluster of words focused the Muslim perspective in Belgium. A cluster of words including: *Muslim*, *area*, *ghetto*, *foreign*, *Molenbeek* and *community* were present. Within Al Jazeera's coverage, there was a strong emphasis on both the area of Molenbeek, the residents who live there, and how they fit within the broader Brussels culture.

political terms and the words *support* and *solidarity* framing the response to this attack was one of global unity.

Al Jazeera did not provide coverage of the attack in Turkey.

When examining the Al Jazeera map of all Islamic State attacks, the most influential word was *police*, an indication that coverage framed the event from a conflict perspective.

In addition, two key themes emerged from the Al Jazeera coverage. First, the network focused on a Paris predominately. The terms – *Paris*, *French*, *France* – were both influential and used frequently. With regards to Entman's (1993) explanation of salience, the Paris attacks were regarded as most important in Al Jazeera's coverage.

Research Question 3. Research question 3 asked: Based on the findings of RQ1 and RQ2, in what ways, if at all, do American television news and International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror differently based on the classification (Lone Wolf or

Islamic State) of the attacker. To answer this question, first the visual framing of the events will be analyzed followed by the verbal framing.

Visual Framing. Hypothesis 5: To better understand RQ3, hypothesis 5 was developed. H5 predicted: There will be no differences in the visual framing of global news based on the classification of the attacker. This hypothesis was not supported. Findings indicate there was a statistically significant difference between visual images of global news coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks ($\chi^2 = 444.41$, $df = 7$, $p < .05$).

Table 19
Global News Images - Comparison by Attack Type
Images $N = 5323$

	Lone Wolf		Islamic State	
	%	n	%	n
Geography	10.1	421	5.6	297
Attack	30.1	1252	46	2448
Political	10.9	454	11.4	608
Victim	16.2	672	8.9	476
Attacker	6.3	260	7.1	379
Tribute	7.3	304	7.4	392
Islamic State	1.6	67	3.5	186
Other	17.5	726	10.1	537
Totals	100	4156	100	5323

When examining how Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks were framed by global news networks, there were several key differences. First, the way the geography visual was used varied across networks. Coverage of Lone Wolf attacks employed this image most frequently in 10.1% of images, while Islamic State attacks only used a “geography” image about half as frequently (5.6%). Examples of dominant images coded as

“geography” may have included maps of the location the attack took place, maps of the Middle East, or maps of Islamic State controlled territory.

Another distinct difference was the network’s use of the “attack” visual. Lone Wolf attacks used attack- related images in 30.1% of coverage, while Islamic State used this type of visual in 46% of total images. There were also differences in the way the “victims” were represented visually within the coverage. Images coded as “victim” included images of those injured or killed in the attacks, survivors, and family/friends of those killed or injured. Lone Wolf attacks contained 16.2% of visuals coded as victim, while Islamic State attacks contained half the number of images pertaining to victims (8.9%).

Although statistically different, it is important to note that when analyzing the global coverage of lone wolf and Islamic State attacks, there were also stark similarities. Political images were used in a similar way, with lone wolf attacks containing 10.9% of images coded as political and Islamic State coverage contained 11.4%. Images coded as political included American and International government or police officials. Use of tribute, attacker and Islamic State images were used uniformly in global coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. Although statistically different, there are similarities within the visual coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks.

To further examine research question 3, the verbal framing of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks were compared. When examining the CRA maps of American and International news coverage of lone wolf attacks, analysis indicates language choices are similar. Table 23 provides the most influential words by network for each type of attack

When comparing global coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, there were striking similarities. First, the word *people* was the most influential word for 8 of the 12 categories analyzed. The word *People* was the most influential for attacks in both the Lone Wolf and Islamic State categories. When examining the transcripts, regardless of the type of attack, global news emphasizes those involved directly or indirectly.

Global news also focused on describing the attack. *Attack* was a highly influential word in global news coverage of both Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. When covering both types of attacks, global news strongly focuses on the logistics of the attack itself.

Table 20: Influential Words in Lone Wolf and Islamic State Attacks

	CBS	PBS	CNN	RT	SKY	Al Jazeera
Lone Wolf	People Attack Police	Orlando People American	People Trump Truck	People Attack Orlando	People Attack State	People Police Security
Islamic State	Attack Paris Police	People Attack Today	People Attack ISIS	People Airport Paris	Country People Attack	Police Muslim Brussels

One area of distinction is Al Jazeera and the high influence the word *Muslim* had. This was not seen in the coverage of any of the other channels. This may be explained by Al Jazeera catering to their audience, which is predominantly Muslim.

Chapter Summary. This study's analysis of visual and verbal data of global news framing of acts of terror indicate both differences and similarities. The first research question asked: In what way do American television news broadcasts frame acts of

terror”. This study suggests American news focuses on three things: the attack itself, the political implications of the attack nationally, and broader political and societal issues related to the attack. Within American news networks, there are significant differences in the way terror attacks are framed visually, but there are strong similarities in the verbal framing.

The second research question asked: In what ways do international television news broadcasts frame acts of terror? Similar to the findings of American news, international news also focuses on description of the attack, and nationalistic and global political issues and societal issues. Also similar to American news coverage, there are significant differences within International news coverage of terror attacks.

Lastly, the third research question asked: Based on the findings of RQ1 and RQ2, in what ways, if at all, do American and International news broadcasts frame acts of terror differently based on the classification of the attacker? Findings indicate there are differences in the ways global news networks visually frame Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, but similarities in the verbal framing.

Additionally, findings suggest there are fewer differences between American and International news coverage and strong similarities particularly in the verbal framing of attacks.

To conclude, American and International news networks contain differences when comparing the visual framing of both Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. There are fewer differences when analyzing the language choices by global television news

networks. The classification of the attack as Lone Wolf or Islamic State shows differences in how the attack is framed visually, but not verbally.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

“Cultural influences, both journalistic and national, are not as important as other factors when shaping coverage. Terrorism news itself leads to similarities greater than differences, with the inherent and universal shock, horror, sympathy and unity such attacks bring.”

-(Schaefer, 2003, p. 110)

This chapter examines the findings regarding American and International news coverage of acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf and the Islamic State as they relate to the research questions and hypotheses of this study. The main areas of research answered are: 1) In what ways do American television news broadcasts frame acts of terror by the Lone Wolf and the Islamic State, visually and verbally; 2) In what ways do International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror by the Lone Wolf and the Islamic State, visually and verbally; 3) In what ways do American television news and International television news broadcasts frame acts of terror differently based on the classification of the attacker?

From the findings discussed in Chapter 4, further discussion and greater understanding of the research questions examined will be discussed. First, insights into visual and verbal framing will be addressed to better understand how acts of terror perpetrated by the Lone Wolf and the Islamic State are framed within global news. Next, based on the understanding of how global news frames acts of terror, a proposed advancement of literature and presentation of a global script for terrorism coverage will be explained. Third, a discussion of the implications of this study as they relate to the

research questions are provided. Lastly, areas of potential future research and limitations are discussed.

Framing Theory

A discussion of the findings as they relate to media framing of terrorist acts begins with a reflection on the foundations of framing theory. Previous research indicates “terrorist events are commonly understood through news ‘frames’ that simplify, prioritize, and structure the narrative flow of events” (Norris et. al, 2003, p. 15). This study reaffirmed this notion. Findings indicate there are distinct frames utilized in the coverage of acts of terror. When examining these frames, there are differences in framing of visuals, but similarities in the verbal framing of events that will be discussed in this section.

Visual Framing. Through analyzing the visuals used in global news, there were clear differences. Research suggests one reason there are global differences in usage of visuals is that newsroom ideologies influence image selection (Silcock, 2008). Ideologies can be examined at a macro, or cultural level, but also from a micro level, analyzing each individual news channel selected for analysis.

One interesting element from this study is that differences in visuals vary more within coverage than between. For example, there are vast differences in the use of visuals within the American news data set (CBS uses images differently than CNN and PBS). These findings were similar in international news coverage (RT uses images differently than Sky News and Al Jazeera). Ideologies do appear to influence image selection, but it is based on the news organizations’ ideology, rather than the cultural

ideology of nations?. American media, as part of the “Pure Market” system described by Curran et al. (2009), operates based on market forces with little interference from the government. Image differences within American news highlight the “Pure Market” system with news channels fighting for ratings. American media attempt to appeal to their audiences through image selection based on what will be meaningful and relevant.

From an ideological perspective, it can be argued the differences within International media are due to a macro, or cultural, level of influence. There are key elements that influence the image selection of the International news channels. For instance, RT is funded by the Russian government; Sky News, is majority-owned by 21st Century Fox and could be categorized in the “Pure Market” system of American media, and Al Jazeera broadcasts from a Muslim perspective. Broader cultural influences shape content from an ideological, operational, and financial level. In the case of Al Jazeera, it is important to note that although past research has indicated numerous U.S. officials have accused Arab media of harming the image of America in the Muslim world, this was not found in this study. Image selection by Al Jazeera was very similar to the other global news channels analyzed in this study. This shift may be correlated to the pressure Al Jazeera Media Network has been under in recent years, or an adoption of a more Western perspective within news coverage. Overall, cultural influences can greatly affect the construction of news as ideology shapes not only the images selected, but how they are constructed within a story to create meaning.

The final area of importance in examining global news visual framing of terrorist acts is to examine the content. Findings indicate that while there were statistical

differences in the framing of terrorist acts, there were also similarities. It should be noted that although news channels used images differently within broadcasts, the images selected for inclusion had strong similarities. Rather than there being differences in the images included (or excluded), the differences lie in the way the images are edited together and how much time is devoted to specific types of images. This may indicate a difference in journalistic roles and practices employed by each news organization. As reporters or editors are selecting images for inclusion, the processes that have been put in place affect the visual framing of events. It is argued that newsroom culture and routines do affect the visual framing of acts of terror, but there are also strong similarities, specifically in the verbal framing of events.

Verbal Framing. When examining the framing of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, analysis revealed global news networks follow a pattern of utilizing a combination of generic frames, episodic frames, and thematic frames in similar ways (Entman, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

First, a discussion of the use of generic frames: As Godefroit et. al (2016) explains “generic frames typically describe structural aspects and general features of news that can apply across different topics, times and cultural contexts”. When examining general frames, three of the commonly used frames developed by De Vreese (2005), Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Van Cauwenberge et. al (2009) were used consistently across all global news: conflict, nationalization, and responsibility.

Global news relies heavily on the conflict frame when covering Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. In this study, conflict appeared through the use of visuals that

included components such as police equipment, first responders, people fleeing the attack site, and amateur or surveillance video during the attack. The conflict frame was also used heavily in the verbal analysis of coverage, evident through the frequency and influence of language used to describe the attack.

The immense use of the conflict frame highlights two things. First, research indicates a focus on conflict is believed to be the primary way to gain audience attention, and in turn, ratings (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). As terrorism attacks have become more salient in the global news cycle, networks put strong focus on the components (such as death, destruction, and investigations) to captivate audiences. As choices for news have expanded greatly, the competition for ratings has increased. Global news continues to employ a frame in coverage that produces ratings. Secondly, the use of the conflict frame is indicative of the idea that global news follows a standard structure that can be applied to different types of terror attacks. Regardless of the classification of an attack, a conflict frame is used consistently.

The nationalization frame, or the framing of events based on the national perspective of the media organization, was also utilized frequently within coverage. Although global news uses this frame repeatedly, there is wider variation than was expected. As Gurevitch et. al (1991) postulated, television tends to domesticate (or nationalize) foreign events in two ways:

“First, by casting far-away events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and “relevant” to domestic audiences; and second, by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the “dominant ideology” of the societies they serve” (p. 206).

The use of the nationalization frame was commonly invoked as it related to additional framing devices. The use the human-interest frame, seen through a focus on victims or tributes, was also nationalistic. When organizations did cover victims of the attack, stronger emphasis was placed on the victims from the media channel's country. For example, American news coverage following the Paris attacks emphasized the California State University student, Nohemi Gonzalez, who was killed. CBS coverage included an interview with Nohemi's classmate:

“The American who was killed in the assault on Paris celebrated her 23rd birthday here last month. Nohemi Gonzalez was a student at Cal State Long Beach. Today she was the one on the minds of her classmates here during the national moment of silence. They are students of design who crafted a memorial for Nohemi Gonzalez in the lobby that she raced through on the way to class. The absence of sound deafened the mind. That picture, Nohemi under the moon in Amsterdam, was shot by her friend Cal State student Niran Jayasiri. She was always a very cheerful person. You never see her in a bad mood. She always smiled at you and you wonder how late she's been working. She's just a charismatic person. He may have been the last to see Nohemi alive, standing next to her at a cafe as a terrorist opened fire”.

This can be explained as news organizations focus on those similar to viewers. When American news sources focus on Americans involved in an attack, the coverage is then personified for audiences. The same holds true for International media with a focus on tributes and coverage of victims based on country of origin. Weimann and Winn (1994)

explain, the “nationality of victims and location of attack were significant in influencing amount of coverage” (p. 78). This was evident within the global coverage of terror attacks.

The nationalization frame was also used in the discussion of politics. For some of the channels, none of the attacks took place within their country, yet a discussion of national political implications were included. This can be seen in several examples. First, following the Paris attacks, all networks included a strong focus on the Syrian refugee crisis. Focus of coverage centered on how it related to allowing refugees into different areas and framed in part as an attribute of responsibility, but focus was. American news coverage nationalized this element by focusing coverage on several state governors who stated they would not allow refugees in. For example, CNN coverage included:

“We have loose borders. The FBI has said ISIS is in all 50 states. This is a reality. They're saying we have to control our borders. If that means shutting down the borders, so be it.”

Sky News and RT discussed the crisis as it related to issues with border control within European nations. For example, the Sky News anchor stated:

“Tonight, our chief correspondent reveals the suicide brigade of foreign fighters detailed in IS files. And we'll ask the implications for security at home of this terrible attack abroad.”

Al Jazeera nationalized the political implications of the study by focusing on the Syrian refugee crisis itself, and the response from Western nations regarding border control.

The idea of the nationalization frame also emphasizes the concept of ethnocentrism within global news coverage. As Page and Shapiro (1993) note, the “United States media has an ethnocentric, nationalistic bias in covering foreign affairs”. This study indicates that although American news media is ethnocentric, the same can be said for other media outlets examined in this study. It is evident though, that American media coverage, politics and perspectives strongly influence the news coverage of global networks. For example, when covering both Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, international news contained American political actors, reaction, and response. For example, Sky News broadcasts included:

“And the choice for America is about how it performs a global leadership role on refugee resettlement as well as on politics” and “Meanwhile in the United States, more than half of state Governors have said they won’t take refugees from the Syrian crisis.”

This reaffirms the idea that America is still viewed as the “preeminent actor in world affairs, the last remaining super-power” (Schaefer, 2003, p. 98). Although there is a nationalistic frame employed, the focus on the American perspective continues to influence global news. American media owns the terrorism frame, and global news channels follow the news patterns presented first in America. As America was the victim of arguably the largest and most influential terrorist attack in history, September 11, 2001, global media now follows America’s lead in covering acts of terror.

The final general frame used in coverage was the responsibility frame. The responsibility frame attributes responsibility and assigns blame to the actors

involved. The verbal framing of events invokes the responsibility frame from the onset of coverage. For example, on November 13th, the night of the Paris attacks, CBS Evening News anchor Scott Pelley asked:

“Who do think could be behind this?”

The reporter replied:

“I think the question on responsibility, Scott, goes to either self-radicalized individuals in France, coming together, working this out. Perhaps they met at a mosque, perhaps they met in prison. Or direction by a terrorist group overseas, either ISIS or al Qaeda. ISIS has been working a capability to conduct attacks in Western Europe”.

Coverage by RT reflected the same pattern when covering the attacks in Turkey:

“Turkish officials believe that the three suicide bombers that carried out the attacks in Istanbul airport belong to the Islamic State terror group”.

In addition, all networks used language that not only assigned responsibility, but also included emotional appeal. For example, Al Jazeera anchors stated:

“These were the dreadful moments when it appears ISIL’s focus on French targets may have gone global”

Sky News anchors described the attack in Nice saying:

France plunged into yet again into shock and mourning for scores of those innocent people slaughtered at the hands of a terrorist.

This use of an additional general frame is seen not only in coverage of terrorist acts, but also in a variety of other types of events. The use of the responsibility frame also

highlights the importance of labeling. This study analyzed attacks that were carried out by predominantly Muslim men. The labeling of these individuals as terrorists can influence perceptions. By assigning responsibility and using language that focuses on descriptive factors associated with the Muslim community, global media creates and perpetuates existing stereotypes of “who” a terrorist is.

In addition to the use of general frames, global coverage of terrorism also contains the use of both episodic and thematic frames. As Iyengar and Simon (1993) explain, “the episodic frame depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances or specific events” while the thematic frame “places public issues in some general or abstract context” (p. 369). Additionally, the thematic frame “typically takes the form of a ‘takeout’ or ‘backgrounder’ report directed at general outcomes of conditions and frequently features talking heads” (Iyengar & Simon, 1993, p. 370). In this study, episodic frames can be seen through the focus on individual attacks, victims and tributes. As Iyengar and Simon (1993) note, “episodic reports make for ‘good pictures’” (p. 369). This is confirmed within this study as global networks used images related to the attack predominantly in the coverage.

Additionally, thematic frames were employed by global news. Although the specific content of the frame varied, a broader picture and contextualization of events occurred. News coverage of Lone Wolf attacks were often contextualized by connecting them to security issues as they related to the style of attack. For example, the attack in Orlando was thematically contextualized in relation to gun control. PBS coverage stated:

“Senate democrats launched a filibuster today, demanding tougher gun controls in the aftermath of Orlando. Connecticut senator Chris Murphy and several others spent much of the day calling for a vote on barring gun sales to people on the terrorist watch-list”.

Sky News echoed this idea by including the American issue of gun control within the channel’s coverage:

“Now the rising gun violence has been a crucial concern for President Obama.”

Alternately, Islamic State attacks were contextualized as they related to the ongoing fight against global terror. When covering the Brussels attacks, Al Jazeera coverage included President Obama’s statement:

“We must be together, regardless of nationality or race or faith, in fighting against the scourge of terrorism. We can and we will defeat those who threaten the safety and security of people all around the world”.

PBS coverage reflected this pattern, stating:

“You have to bring ISIS down in a way that it actually implodes. That’s the only way in which he can have a sustainable end to ISIS”.

This dissertation finds that global coverage of acts of terrorism utilize a variety of established frames in the literature. Additionally, this research finds the use of foundational perspectives of framing first developed by Entman (1993) in global television coverage.

Framing as a Process. According to Entman (2004) frames in television news have four locations within the communication process and include: the communicators, the texts,

the receiver's thinking and the culture. Three of these locations (communicators, the texts, and the culture) can be examined within the context of this study. The final component, the receiver's thinking, would be an area of examination for a future study.

First, the communicator's make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames that organize their belief systems. In this case, the communicators fulfill roles within news organizations such as reporters, news directors or editors. This research would indicate the judgments made by communicators are similar on a global level. Although it was expected that media channels from different cultures would frame acts of terror in alternate ways, this was not the case. Rather than covering acts of terror based on individual belief systems, global media appear to make conscious judgments that are similar to one another based on the subject: terror.

The second location of frames in the communication process is within the texts. The texts contain frames that are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. When examining global news coverage of terrorism, there were strong similarities in frames within the text. For example, key words such as *terrorist* or *terror* were used across all networks. As the term terrorism has strong negative connotations for most individuals, the use of the term alone drastically alters the framing of events. Additionally, sources of information used in broadcasts followed a global pattern. Global news emphasizes the use of political and law enforcement sources. The use of this type of source further reinforces what Nacos

(2007) called The Triangle of Political Communication. The relationship between the government, media and terrorism is reinforced by the flow of information and content included for broadcast. The texts also contain a global condemnation of terrorism, a negative judgment that is seen across all channels examined.

Lastly, frames are located within culture. As Entman (2004) explains, frames can be based on numerous cultural characteristics such as location, language, beliefs, and values demonstrated by an audience. This research analyzed global media channels with the expectations that cultural elements would influence the framing of events. This was not the case, rather there were stark similarities between American and International news. This lack of variance amongst cultures can be attributed to the content being covered. Although there is not an agreed upon definition of terrorism, there appears to be an agreed upon definition of how to cover it that crosses cultural boundaries.

By examining past research of framing theory and connecting it to the findings of this dissertation, it is evident that although framing theory was developed decades ago, many of the key frames utilized by television news are still apparent in content today. This research adds to the literature on framing theory and highlights two important elements. First, although there have been several technological advancements in terms of how news is produced and disseminated, the approach to formatting and framing of events remains constant. Although audiences have turned to other sources for news, such as the Internet, cell phones and social media, traditional forms of television news that were analyzed in this study still employ similar historical structures in news coverage of terrorism, primarily by following the framing process developed by Entman

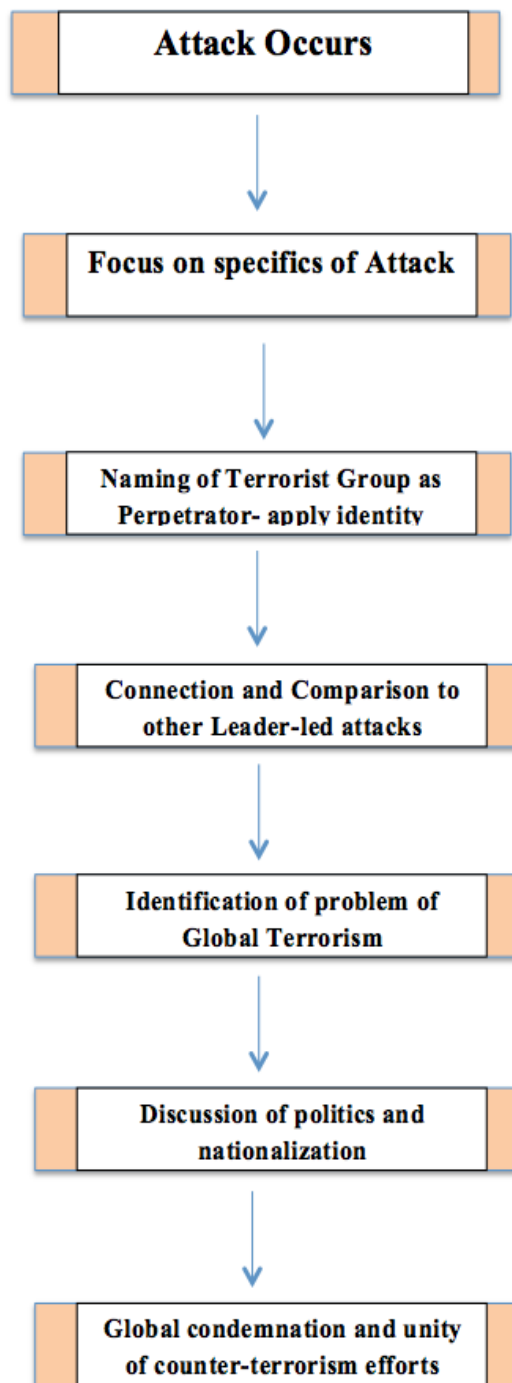
(1993). Second, although previous research indicates cultural differences should be seen in the framing of news, this was not the case. News has become homogenized. The distinct differences that were once seen in framing analysis of global news no longer exist as distinctly as they once did. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, “terrorism news itself leads to similarities greater than differences, with the inherent and universal shock, horror, sympathy and unity such attacks bring” (Schaefer, 2003, p. 110). While historically framing theory has looked to elements such as culture, roles and media systems to explain variations in visual and verbal framing, an important component that is missing is the topic itself. This study makes clear that on a global level, some topics, such as terrorism, are understood so synonymously that consensus in coverage is seen. With this understanding, a global script for terrorism coverage will now be examined.

Global Script. Previous research indicates that news coverage of “acts of terrorism has become so programmatic as to have created a thematic frame of terrorism: war of Islam on the United States” (Powell, 2011p. 105). Powell (2011) presents how acts of terror are scripted within American media based on a terrorist being labeled as “Muslim”. When they are labeled as Muslim and are not U.S. citizens, media frames the event as the individual being “connected to a larger terrorist cell”, the attack as a “war on American by Islam” and the “future threat from Islam is enhanced”. Conversely, if the attacker was a U.S. citizen, the terrorist was given “human descriptors”, the “reason for the attack is investigated” and the attack is framed as an “isolated incident” with “no future threat) (Powell, 2011, p. 106). This study builds on the concept of “scripting” presented by Powell (2011). Powell’s (2011) script focused on American news only. This research

adds to the literature by proposing a “global news script” for coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. Although there are slight variations within the progression of the narrative based on the type of attack, there are also some striking similarities.

Figure 1 provides the script for Lone Wolf attacks adopted by global news networks.

Figure 1: Global Script of Leader-led Terrorist Attacks



The first stage involves the attack taking place. This then begins the narrative and framing of the event. Shortly following the attack, or in some cases, as the attack is still unfolding, a conflict frame emerges. Visually, this includes images from the attack as it takes place or immediately after, the police and medical responses, and interviews with survivors and witnesses. In most cases, global news uses identical images, though placement within a news story and time devoted to types of images may vary. During this stage of coverage, images are often used from a network that is within close proximity of the attack, therefore the country where the attack occurred influences the types of visuals broadcast globally.

As the attack is unfolding, or shortly after, there is a designation of the type of attack. This is typically classified into two categories: Lone Wolf or Islamic State (or other various terrorist organizations). When the attack is labeled Lone Wolf, global news provides extensive coverage focused on describing the attacker, their nationality and ethnicity, and life history. There is also a focus on reactions from those who knew the attacker, often comprised of shock and disbelief. For example, Sky News's coverage of the Orlando attacker included:

“Well, the gunman, Omar Mateen, was a 29-year- old U.S. citizen of Afghan descent. He worked as a security guard and had a Florida firearms license. His attack was apparently inspired by ISIL, but the FBI does say there’s no evidence to suggest he had any direct link with the terror group. However, Mateen had been on the FBI’s radar since 2013.”

Russia Today coverage highlights the focus on the attacker's family:

Meantime, more on the killer's father. He's also been in the spotlight since the attack of course. Initially, he condemned the killings, but he also spoke out against homosexuality, as he said it is something that deserves God's punishment."

The global narrative then moves into a comparison of the current attack to attacks of the same classification. Coverage begins broadly with a discussion of Lone Wolf attacks and then moves on to the specificities of each type of attack. For example, the Orlando attack and attacker were compared to the San Bernadino attacks; the Germany attack was compared to the Nice attack. As the narrative becomes more specific, the choice of connection and comparison is strongly linked to the method used by the attacker. The Orlando and San Bernadino attacks both used firearms as a weapon, while the Nice and Germany attacks both used a truck.

The next stage in the narrative is focused on the investigation and designation of motive. Until this point, although the term "terrorism" is used to describe the attack globally, it is frequently used with qualifying language such as "alleged" and "apparent". There is extensive focus on the police investigation and identification of a motive of the attacker. Plausible motives are often examined within coverage. For example, when covering the attack in Orlando, emphasis was placed on the attacker's connection with the L.G.B.T. community and the attacker's sexual orientation. RT coverage highlighted this stating:

"As the world continues to reel from what happened in Orlando at that gay nightclub over the weekend, claims have emerged that the killer had frequented that venue himself. Regulars at the Pulse nightclub say Omar Mateen had been

seen several times there at least. In fact, one said he'd been seen at that bar for the last three years, i.e. a regular. The gunman's also said to have used gay dating apps."

The narrative then moves to a focus on nationalizing the event and making the attack accessible to the audience in which the program is produced; domesticating the content for viewers. This is seen predominantly in discussion of politics and recourse. This part of the narrative is where the most variety among attacks is present and is influenced by three key areas: the method of attack, the laws where news is constructed and lastly, global political implications. First, the method of the attack shapes the focus of global news. For example, the Orlando attack was carried out by the use of a semi-automatic weapon. The discussion of politics turned to issues such as gun control, and L.G.B.T issues. In comparison, the weapon used in the Nice and Berlin attacks (a truck) turned the focus to how to protect against individuals using arguably ordinary items to create destruction. Regardless of style of attack, the overall theme of the coverage remains consistent: what changes can be implemented politically to prevent future attacks from occurring?

The second area of influence is focused on national laws or viewpoints of the country where news is being disseminated from. For example, following the Orlando attacks, gun control laws were examined across all networks. A discussion and viewpoints of gay rights were also analyzed from a nationalistic perspective.

Lastly, global political implications are addressed. For Lone Wolf attacks analyzed in this study, the primary areas of emphasis were: how the global community

can prevent the Islamic State from recruiting individuals and how to strengthen national security through the implementation of stricter border control.

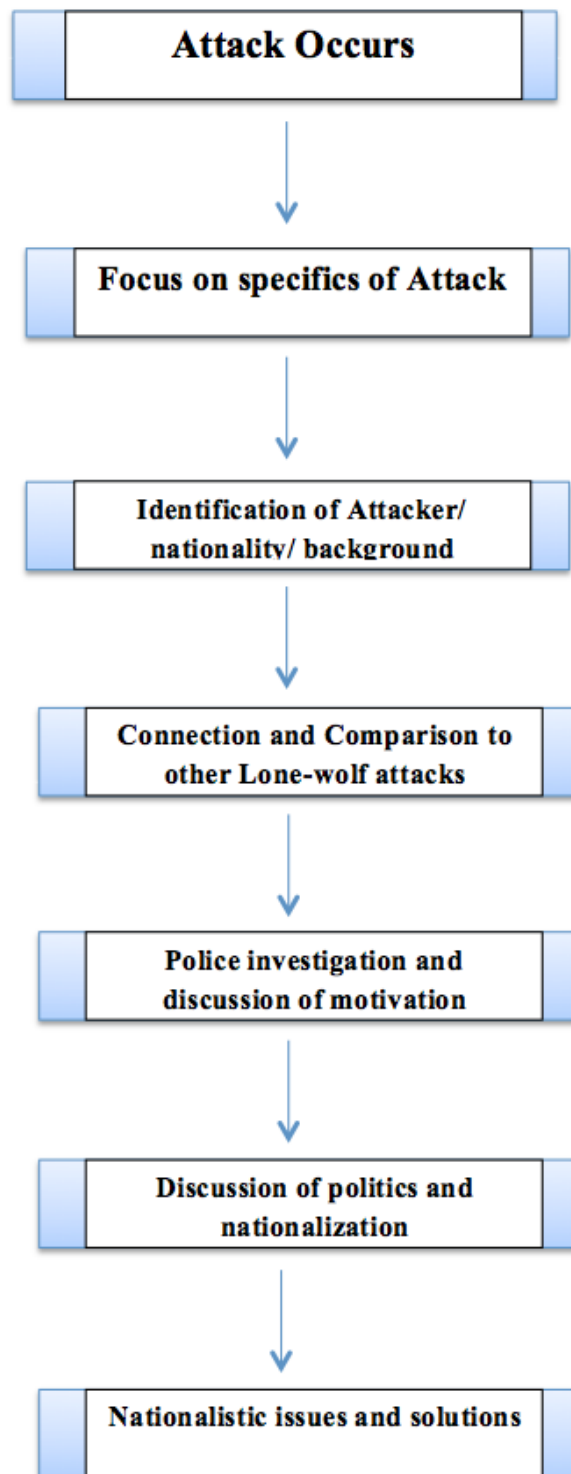
Figure 2 provides the script for Islamic State attacks adopted by global news networks. As can be seen in both figures, the first two steps in the narrative are identical. Similar to Lone Wolf attacks, first the attack occurs and then coverage focuses on the specifics of the attack. This is the point where the narrative of Islamic State attacks shifts slightly from Lone Wolf coverage.

The third step in the global script is the naming of the terrorist group and application of identity characteristics. This is also the point where the responsibility frame is employed by networks.

After the identification of the group, the script develops in a similar way as Lone Wolf attacks. Global news connects the current attack to others perpetrated by the Islamic State. For example, the Turkey airport attack was compared to Brussels, while the Brussels attack was connected to Paris. Although each attack is an isolated incident, global news coverage connects the leader-led attacks together into a continuous narrative. This form of thematic framing also heightens the prescribed threat from the terrorist group to the rest of the world and the narrative shifts into the next phase, the identification of the problem of global terrorism. This includes analysis and information about the terrorist organization and their perceived power, influence and ability to carry out future attacks.

The next stage of the narrative is a political discussion regarding global terrorism and a nationalization of the issue. This includes security measures, political affiliations and response from the country in which the news broadcast is produced.

Figure 2: Global Script of Lone Wolf Terrorist Attacks



The last part of the narrative of Islamic State attacks is the global condemnation of the attack, and a discussion of unity against the terror group. The condemnation is often seen through in-depth interviews with terrorism experts or politicians. There is also a sense of unity that is provided in a response to the attack. For example, several news networks included coverage of monumental sites around the world displaying memorials.

When comparing the global scripts of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, there are several areas of interest that emerge. Global news coverage of Islamic State attacks employs an “Us vs. Them” frame, with “us” including the global community against terrorism and “them” being the Islamic State. This idea of “Us vs. Them” frame can be explained in part by the idea of a “world opinion”. Rusciano (2003) explains the “international community defined by world opinion tends to appear when the ‘imagined community’ of nations, constructed from common linguistic usages, becomes integral to the administration of scarce resources beyond the nation state (p. 156) and that a “world opinion is defined as the moral judgments of observers which actors must heed in the international areas or risk isolation as a nation” (p. 159). In the six news channels analyzed for this study, it is clear global news coverage follows a pattern of framing adopted by all nations, with a strong focus on condemning acts of terror and uniting to combat the act.

Conversely, coverage of Lone Wolf attacks use a conflict frame, but in a different way. This research proposes global coverage of Lone Wolf attacks use an “us vs. us” frame. The narrative of Lone Wolf attacks describe the attacker typically as a person who otherwise appeared to be a normal citizen, but due to various circumstances was

self-radicalized and led to commit an act of terror. One of the motives of terrorism is not the act itself, but rather the fear caused by attacks. This fear is perpetuated by global coverage of Lone Wolf attacks. This symbiotic relationship between the mass media and terrorism is further solidified by framing Lone Wolf attackers as the “terrorist next door” with an unknown or misunderstood motive. The idea of people vs. people among us amplifies the ultimate goal of terrorism, to incite fear of the next attack.

With an understanding of the global script that is utilized when covering Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, a discussion of the implications can now be reviewed.

Implications for Research

To understand the implications of the framing of terrorist acts and the utilization of a global script, two key areas will be discussed. First the implications from a theoretical perspective, followed by implications from a practical standpoint.

Theoretical Implications. The findings from this research extend previous research on framing theory. First I will discuss Entman’s stages in the framing process and how the findings from this study highlight the importance and continued application of this formative model. Lastly, I will connect this current study to additional related theories to explain the ways global news coverage of terrorism has vast implications.

Entman (1993) states information is framed in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. These four functions are foundational in Entman’s approach to framing theory and can be examined in the context of this study.

First, problem definition is the determination of what causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits to whom. From the onset of coverage, global television news

channels apply the problem definition. This can be seen in the first two steps of the global scripts presented for coverage of the Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. Global news focuses on identifying the type of attack and those affected by the attack instantly.

Secondly, the causal interpretation is where attention is paid to identifying the forces creating the problem. As can be seen in the global scripts presented, the causal interpretation is seen in step three. Global news channels label the attack as either Lone Wolf or Islamic State. In this study, the causal interpretation also includes background information about the individual attacker or organized group and background information to provide greater understanding of the forces causing the problem.

Third, the moral evaluation takes place through the evaluation of causal agents. Global channels cohesively condemn both types of attacks, seen through the selection of visuals (such as memorials and tributes) and the use of emotional language previously discussed. There is also evaluation through the inclusion of political sources with focus on the problem of individual radicalization and organized terrorist groups.

Lastly, the treatment recommendation offers and justifies treatments for the problems and predicts their likely effects. When examining both Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks, the narrative wraps up coverage with the treatment recommendation. For Lone Wolf attacks, this includes ways to prevent against future attacks, radicalization and political action, such as gun control. Alternately, treatment recommendation for Islamic State attacks focused on a global condemnation and fight against terror. Regardless of classification, prediction of the likely effects is the same: reducing the likelihood of future attacks.

This study highlights global news coverage continues to frame events by following the structure of problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Entman's (1993) original application of the model compared the differences in framing of two similar events. This study reaffirmed this process is utilized regardless of media system to which a news channel belongs when covering acts of terror.

This research notes implications to framing theory specifically, but findings can also be applied to additional relevant theoretical approaches associated with framing.

When examining global news coverage, Norris et. al (2001) explain:

“In International affairs, framing serves several functions by highlighting certain events as international problems that affect American interests (agenda-setting), identifying and explaining the source of any security threats (cognitive priming), and offering recommendations for particular policy solutions to overcome these problems (evaluation)”.

Through the examination of global news, it is evident that media coverage of terrorism fulfills each these functions. The agenda-setting function is demonstrated by the amount of coverage devoted globally to acts of terror, regardless of classification of the attack. But agenda-setting also plays a role in indicating which terror attacks are “more important” than others. For example, the attacks in Berlin received very little coverage across global news in comparison to other attacks. This may be because of the number killed or injured was fewer than in other attacks indicating death toll may also play a role in terrorism coverage and the amount of time devoted to attacks.

Global news engages in cognitive priming through the focus on organized terror groups and individuals radicalized by organized terror groups. Extensive focus, both visually and verbally, was placed on the political coverage and police response with focus

on how to stop acts of terror, the main global security threat. Lastly, as demonstrated in the scripts presented, evaluation is seen through issues such as gun control, border control and heightened national security.

In addition to theoretical implications, practical implications must also be addressed.

Practical Implications. As was discussed, there are practical implications to this study. First, there are strong similarities in the global coverage of terrorism. This understanding can be related to the routines media personnel use when creating content. As Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explain routines are “patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their job,” (p. 85).

This study indicates there has been a homogenization and global routines may not be as different as once thought. Day to day routines are “important because they affect the social reality portrayed by the media (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996 p. 88). Although previous research has indicated culture, roles, routines and norms influence the construction of news, this is not the case with covering acts of terror. This is because of the nature of the coverage, and the global condemnation found within media. As Reese et al. (2001) note:

“the joining together of journalists in support of desirable democratic goals can be an important movement, worthy of our attention and monitoring. Ultimately, if we want to connect professional features to professional work, it will mean relating the “hierarchy influences” factors to textual and content analysis. This may mean considering effects of various factors on the press agenda (its emphasis on various issues and features) as well as on how issues are “framed” (how social life is organized visually and verbally)”.

The “joining together” aspect has become a global movement against terror that is reflected in news coverage. Through utilizing a content analysis examining acts of terror, this study has provided the understanding that regardless of media system or culture, global news employs similar features to create meaning for viewers. But also some differences? You mention organizational culture influencing coverage? You may want to add that comparison here. Though this study contributes to the research on global news coverage of terrorism, there are some limitations that should be addressed.

Limitations. First, the acts of terror selected for this study all took place in Western nations. This may influence the framing of events. It may be important to examine the ways acts of terror are covered in non-Western countries to identify variances in framing.

An additional limitation for this research was the sample obtained for the analysis. Two of the three international news sources failed to provide a complete data set. Although having a full data set from each network would have been ideal, the researcher took necessary steps—described in greater detail in the methodology section-- to ensure this did not affect overall findings.

Lastly, the use of quantitative methods provides valuable information related to content, but an inclusion of qualitative methods would have added an additional element to this research to triangulate the findings. For example, non-participant observation studies inside a global newsroom or in-depth interviews with key gatekeepers.

Future Studies

Future studies examining the topics of global news and terrorism could focus on several important aspects.

One important question to examine regarding framing of terrorist acts is how the framing of attacks changes over time. Previous research indicates that frames are not static, and instead evolve over time?. There could be global differences that emerge in the framing of terrorism as the narrative evolves.

A second area of potential research is to analyze the way labeling of attacks influences viewer perception and public policy. For example, when a news organization labels an attack as Lone Wolf, how does this affect the framing of the event overall by print and electronic media? The framing of an event as it relates to politics differs based on attack-type. An examination of how this shapes public opinion would be important element to consider.

Third, including additional news channels from a variety of cultures would provide a fuller understanding of how terrorism is framed. This study included channels that could predominantly be classified as having a “Western” perspective, but additional sources could be included for greater understanding.

Fourth, it would be of interest to compare the coverage of terror attacks as it relates to a news channel’s proximity to the attack to understand how that factor might influence coverage.

Fifth, as one of the implications of this study focuses on the routines of news media workers, an in-depth look at a newsroom when covering a terrorist attack could provide additional insights. By using an ethnographic approach, understanding the decision-making process when visually and verbally telling the story as it relates to acts of terror would further this body of research.

Sixth, it would be of interest to examine the use of visuals in combination with the language used within a news story. Understanding the language used when describing images would be an additional way to examine variations in framing.

Lastly, a comparison of different media formats would be beneficial to understanding the ways in which various mediums frame Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. This could include the use of newspapers, radio, traditional news outlet's online content, and social media. It is possible that the medium of television, which is strongly driven by pictures, may frame attacks in a specific way.

Chapter Summary. This chapter examined the findings as they relate to global news coverage of Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. An examination of visual frames discussed that there is more variance within news than between. Visual and verbal analysis also revealed global news networks follow a pattern of utilizing a combination of generic frames, episodic frames, and thematic frames in similar ways, reinforcing findings from previous literature. This research also found global news domesticates acts of terror, making them more meaningful and relatable to the audience.

This chapter also provided several implications from a theoretical and practical standpoint. The presentation of a global script that media use when covering Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks adds to the existing literature on framing theory. Additionally, findings have practical implications as they relate to news production and routines.

This study reinforces the strong relationship that exists between terrorism and the media. This relationship has been coined the “theater of terror” and represents the “dramatic, almost theatrical usage by terrorist organizations of the media for portrayal of

terror attacks with the purpose of exposure on the global stage of mass media” (Altheide, 1987). On this stage, this research suggests a global script is followed when covering Lone Wolf and Islamic State attacks. The framing of terrorist acts reflects a global pattern, adopted regardless of media system. By employing a global script in terrorism coverage, American and International news channels have truly made terrorism a global drama.

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APPENDIX A

CODING SHEET – DOMINANT IMAGES

Terrorism images coding sheet

Network: _____

Date: _____

Start time of Story in broadcast: _____

Dominant image

Please check the phrase below that best describes the dominant image.

The dominant image is the image that appears onscreen the longest time (measured in seconds or minutes and seconds). If no image is onscreen longer than any other image (for example, if two or more images are onscreen for exactly 0:20, the longest time of any images), mark "no dominant image."

____ City scene in location of attack (please describe)

____ Map of location where attack occurred

____ Map of Islamic State controlled territory in Iraq/Syria

____ Map of entire Middle East

____ Police equipment or ordinance (police vehicles, yellow tape, investigation etc.)

____ First responders immediately following attack

____ Attack as it took place (surveillance footage, etc)

____ People fleeing attack site

____ Amateur video during or immediately following attack

____ U.S. police official(s) (please name): _____

____ U.S. government official(s) (please name): _____

____ Public official from location of attack: (please name): _____

____ International police official(s): (please name): _____

____ Victims at time of or during attack

____ Victims immediately following attack

____ Personal photos of victims before attack

____ Survivors

____ Attacker (personal photos)

____ Attacker (police photos)

____ Home of the attacker

____ Family/Friends of attacker

____ Memorials/ Tributes (flowers, signs etc)

____ Community Support (blood donation, prayer services, etc)

____ Mourners

____ Text describing the attack

____ Islamic State soldiers

____ Islamic State leaders

____ Other attack-related image (please describe in detail)

____ Dominant image is not related to the attack

____ No dominant image

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET – FIRST IMAGES

First image

Please check the phrase below that best describes the first image.

For television, the first image is the image that appears onscreen first. It may or may not also be the dominant image.

- ☐ City scene in location of attack (please describe)
- _____
- ☐ Map of location where attack occurred
- ☐ Map of Islamic State controlled territory in Iraq/Syria
- ☐ Map of entire Middle East
- ☐ Police equipment or ordinance (police vehicles, yellow tape, investigation etc.)
- ☐ First responders immediately following attack
- ☐ Attack as it took place (surveillance footage, etc)
- ☐ People fleeing attack site
- ☐ Amateur video during or immediately following attack
- ☐ U.S. police official(s) (please name): _____
- ☐ U.S. government official(s) (please name): _____
- ☐ Public official from location of attack: (please name): _____
- ☐ International police official(s): (please name): _____
- ☐ Victims at time of during attack
- ☐ Victims immediately following attack
- ☐ Personal photos of victims before attack
- ☐ Survivors
- ☐ Attacker (personal photos)
- ☐ Attacker (police photos)
- ☐ Home of the attacker
- ☐ Family/Friends of attacker
- ☐ Memorials/ Tributes (flowers, signs etc)
- ☐ Community Support (blood donation, prayer services, etc)
- ☐ Mourners
- ☐ Text describing the attack
- ☐ Islamic State soldiers
- ☐ Islamic State leaders
- ☐ Other attack-related image (please describe in detail)
- _____
- ☐ First image is not related to the attack

Is the first image also the dominant image? (circle one) Yes/ No

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET – SECONDARY IMAGES

Secondary images

Please count the number of secondary image(s) and check the phrase(s) below that best describe(s) the secondary images.

For television, secondary images are all images other than the dominant image or the first image.

- ☐ City scene in location of attack (please describe)
- ☐ Map of location where attack occurred
- ☐ Map of Islamic State controlled territory in Iraq/Syria
- ☐ Map of entire Middle East
- ☐ Police equipment or ordinance (police vehicles, yellow tape, investigation etc.)
- ☐ First responders immediately following attack
- ☐ Attack as it took place (surveillance footage, etc)
- ☐ People fleeing attack site
- ☐ Amateur video during or immediately following attack
- ☐ U.S. police official(s) (please name): _____
- ☐ U.S. government official(s) (please name): _____
- ☐ Public official from location of attack: (please name): _____
- ☐ International police official(s): (please name): _____
- ☐ Victims at time of during attack
- ☐ Victims immediately following attack
- ☐ Personal photos of victims before attack
- ☐ Survivors
- ☐ Attacker (personal photos)
- ☐ Attacker (police photos)
- ☐ Home of the attacker
- ☐ Family/Friends of attacker
- ☐ Memorials/ Tributes (flowers, signs etc)
- ☐ Community Support (blood donation, prayer services, etc)
- ☐ Mourners
- ☐ Text describing the attack
- ☐ Islamic State soldiers
- ☐ Islamic State leaders
- ☐ Other attack-related image (please describe in detail)
- ☐ First image is not related to the attack

☐ **Number of secondary attack images**

☐ **Total number of secondary non-attack-related images**